

Pittsburg State University

Pittsburg State University Digital Commons

Electronic Theses & Dissertations

1983

The Heritage of Faith: An historical evaluation of the holiness movement in America

Craig Charles Fankhauser
Pittsburg State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd>



Part of the [History of Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fankhauser, Craig Charles, "The Heritage of Faith: An historical evaluation of the holiness movement in America" (1983). *Electronic Theses & Dissertations*. 109.
<https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd/109>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@pittstate.edu.

THE HERITAGE OF FAITH:
AN HISTORICAL EVALUATION
of THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT in AMERICA.

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Division in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts

By

Craig Charles Fankhauser

PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

Pittsburg, Kansas

July, 1983

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A host of people including family members, librarians, students, and numerous law professors contributed to the completion of this study. Among those I would like to thank specifically are: Dr. Walter Sorensen, my major advisor whose constructive criticism and encouragement were most helpful; the library staff at Harvard Law University, and New University, and for many other universities, including numerous state historical societies, and which writings without which this book could not have been completed; and, last but not least, my parents, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Sorensen, for their untiring support and hospitality.

(Approval Sheet)

APPROVED:

Thesis Adviser

Frederic T. Cornish

Committee Member

Robert K. Raybitt

Committee Member

Dale M. Johnson

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A host of people including faculty advisors, librarians, ministers, and holiness lay members contributed to the successful conclusion of this study. Among those I would like to thank specifically are: Dr. Dudley Cornish, my major advisor whose constructive criticisms and encouragement were most helpful; the library staff at Pittsburg State University and Drew University, and to many other universities, theological seminaries, state historical societies, and church archives without whose help I could not have completed my work. But most of all I must acknowledge my indebtedness to my parents, Mr. & Mrs. George Fankhauser, for their untiring support and especially to my mother for doing all my typing.

ABSTRACT

This work traces the holiness movement from the biblical day of Pentecost, when the disciples of Christ first received the Holy Spirit, to the founding of independent holiness denominations in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the eighteenth century

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii.
ABSTRACT.	v.
LIST OF FIGURES	vi.
PREFACE	vii.

CHAPTER

I. HISTORY OF THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT UNTILL A. D. 1725	1.
II. AMERICAN METHODISM AND ITS PECULAR MISSION 1784 To 1830	18.
III. DECLINE OF HOLINESS IN METHODISM 1830 To 1865.	41.
IV. THE PRINCIPLES OF HOLINESS REVIVED, 1865 To 1880	61.
V. CONFLICT OVER HOLINESS ASSOCIATIONS 1880 To 1895	87.
VI. THE FIRE BAPTIZED REVOLT 1895 To 1911.	121.
VII. THE EMERGENCE OF HOLINESS DENOMINATIONS.	148.
APPENDIX A-- RULES FOR A TYPICAL STATE ASSOCIATION.	178.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	182.

ABSTRACT

This work traces the holiness movement from the Biblical Day of Pentecost, when the disciples of Christ first received the Holy Spirit, to the founding of independent holiness denominations in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the eighteenth century the main emphasis of this perfectionists movement centered around the teachings of an Anglican priest, John Wesley. Wesleyan doctrine stressed two distinct religious experiences--justification (God forgiving individuals their sins) and sanctification. The latter cleansed the believer's heart from original sin and made him ready for heaven.

American holiness proponents founded the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784 and in the early nineteenth century developed the camp meeting system to keep pace with westward expansion. Perfectionist thinking also played an active role during the 1830s in the agitation of the slavery issue. When the Civil War ended in 1865, the advocates of Wesleyan theology used camp meetings to lead literally thousands of people into a second religious experience of "perfect love." In the 1880s and 1890s the leaders of this movement initiated independent holiness associations whose members became progressively critical of many of the social and intellectual developments of their day. Separate holiness denominations dedicated to the continuation of moral as well as spiritual holiness developed as a result of the work of these activists.

Primary nineteenth-century religious periodicals composed the bulk of sources used. State historical societies, universities, and theological school libraries supplied this material, much of it on microfilm.

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	FOLLOWING PAGE
1. Diagram of a Typical Camp Meeting Ground in Early Nineteenth Century America.	31.
2. Pictures of Prominent Holiness Leaders during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century.	66.
3. Map of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Ground, Monmouth Co., N. J.	71.
4. Diagram of the Central Plains Holiness College and Its planed Community	168.

PREFACE

The writer developed an interest in the American holiness movement as a result of his early background in the United Methodist Church and his subsequent conversion (at age seventeen) in a holiness church. As a result the author has attempted first to briefly trace the roots of this movement from the day of Pentecost when the disciples of Christ first received the Holy Spirit to the emergence of the eighteenth-century Anglican priest and founder of the modern day holiness movement, John Wesley. It followed that Wesley adapted many previously used terms to facilitate the development of his teachings concerning the workings of God in the human soul or heart.

Original sin according to Wesleyan doctrine constituted the depravity or corruption of the human nature inherited by the descendants of Adam because of his disobedience to God. Repentance consisted of genuine sorrow for actual transgressions. Conversion or justification embodied the forgiveness of these actual or overt sins which an individual knowingly committed. Through the merits of Christ a person could be regenerated or experience a new birth of the soul whereby all his sins would be forgiven. Entire sanctification, Christian perfection, heart purity or holiness were equated with a second religious experience in which the believer through faith in the blood of Christ consecrated or sacrificed himself to the will of God and thereby received the indwelling Holy Spirit.

Sad to say many historians have failed to recognize the importance

PREFACE

The writer developed an interest in the American holiness movement as a result of his early background in the United Methodist Church and his subsequent conversion (at age seventeen) in a holiness church. As a result the author has attempted first to briefly trace the roots of this movement from the day of Pentecost when the disciples of Christ first received the Holy Spirit to the emergence of the eighteenth-century Anglican priest and founder of the modern day holiness movement, John Wesley. It followed that Wesley adapted many previously used terms to facilitate the development of his teachings concerning the workings of God in the human soul or heart.

Original sin according to Wesleyan doctrine constituted the depravity or corruption of the human nature inherited by the descendants of Adam because of his disobedience to God. Repentance consisted of genuine sorrow for actual transgressions. Conversion or justification embodied the forgiveness of these actual or overt sins which an individual knowingly committed. Through the merits of Christ a person could be regenerated or experience a new birth of the soul whereby all his sins would be forgiven. Entire sanctification, Christian perfection, heart purity or holiness were equated with a second religious experience in which the believer through faith in the blood of Christ consecrated or sacrificed himself to the will of God and thereby received the indwelling Holy Spirit.

Sad to say many historians have failed to recognize the importance

of these religious experiences and the movement they engendered as an expression of social adjustment in nineteenth-century America. This work in part seeks to reverse this trend by examining the religious periodic literature of that day where contemporary accounts portrayed the impact of holiness teachings on such widely divergent American institutions as the frontier camp meeting system and the highly volatile moral issue of Negro slavery.

Even during the Civil War the doctrine of holiness was not without witnesses. After the carnage of human life ended in 1865, the advocates of Christian holiness were again on the forward edge of American westward expansionism. It was at this point during the latter half of the nineteenth century that these Wesleyan proponents successfully used the camp meetings to broaden their sphere of influence. Literally thousands of people were swept into a second religious experience characterized as "perfect love." Progressively this movement fostered holiness literature and the establishment of independent holiness associations. By the 1880s and 1890s the leaders of these quasi-ecclesiastical bodies had become progressively reactionary to the social and intellectual issues of abusive clerical politics, lack of temperance, attendance at improper amusements, worldly dress, along with the Darwin theory of evolution, and Biblical criticism. They felt the very moral fiber of the church was threatened. The way in which these activists engaged these issues ultimately led to the formation of separate churches dedicated to the preservation of moral as well as spiritual holiness.

Lars P. Qualben, *A History Of The Christian Church*, 1. Cited hereafter, Qualben, *Christian Church*.

⁴John 18:26-28, 14:18, 17.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT UNTIL A.D. 1725

The Bible is one of the earliest written records of the interaction between humanity and an omnipotent God. During the period of history recorded in the Old Testament, the only way man could approach his Creator was through a blood sacrifice of an unblemished animal. This was in accordance with the law given by God to the Hebrew leader and prophet, Moses. These sacrifices were symbolic and pointed to a Messiah, who through the sacrifice of his own life, was to make it possible for man to attain a condition of holy interaction with God.¹

When Jesus Christ was revealed as the Messiah, he announced his purpose was not to destroy the Old Testament law but to fulfill it.² In Christian theology, events surrounding the life of Christ not only fulfilled the Mosaic law but also marked a central point in the history of the world.³ Throughout his ministry, Jesus told the disciples that his kingdom was not of this world, that He would be crucified, raised from the dead, and ascend to heaven. The disciples, however, were not to be left alone; their Master promised them another Comforter in the indwelling person of the Holy Spirit.⁴

¹Hebrews 9:16-23.

²Matthew 5:17.

³Lars P. Qualben, A History Of The Christian Church, I. Cited hereafter, Qualben, Christian Church.

⁴John 18:26-28, 14:16, 17.

The eyewitness account by the Apostle Luke in the Book of Acts constitutes the most trustworthy record of this event.⁵ When the apostles received the Holy Ghost, their lives specifically changed in two ways: first, they obtained special guidance through the Spirit, and also power to perform the work of spreading the Gospel for which Christ had chosen them. Following this transformation, the disciples went forth "preaching everywhere, the Lord working with them, confirming their apostleship with signs and wonders." Such actions caused a tremendous upheaval among the Jews at Jerusalem and, as time progressed, among the remainder of the people throughout the then-known world.⁶

Peter and the other disciples demonstrated this newly received spiritual power on the day of Pentecost when they spoke boldly to the people on the divinity of Jesus. As a result the Jewish rulers warned the apostles not to teach that Jesus was the Christ, but the apostles showed fearless dedication in defense of Christ by answering: "We ought to obey God rather than men. . . . Him hath God exalted: . . . we are his witnesses of these things; and so is also the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to them that obey."⁷

⁵The Acts of the Apostles 2:1-5. This Holy Spirit was to lift the believer to a new stratum of holy relationship with God. What the disciples received when the Holy Ghost descended on the day of Pentecost was not remission of sins but an indwelling strength and power to demonstrate to the world that Jesus was the Son of God. This two-fold aspect of salvation was taught during the first century, but by the second century, salvation was thought of as being obtained all in one experience.

⁶Mark 16:20. John the Baptist, predicted this event when he told the people who came to the Jordan to be baptized that there was coming a Savior mightier than he and who would baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with Fire. Matthew 3:11.

⁷The Acts of the Apostles 2:14-27, 5:29-32. The word Christian was first applied to the followers of Christ at Antioch, Syria, about A.D.

Several distinctions during the early Christian era separated the followers of Christ from other religions. First, the Christians looked upon themselves as immediate recipients of the Old Testament heritage of Bible holiness; consequently, they felt they made up the sanctified minority within traditional Judaism. As the followers of Christ (the Jewish Messiah) their mission was to proclaim first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles, the reconciling and sanctifying power of Christ. This new revelation was made public in three specific ways--preaching, written apologies, and the disciples' willingness and, even more important, their eagerness to show the excellence of the Christian religion through martyrdom.⁸

A controversy arose among Christian believers when the Gentiles first received the Holy Ghost. Many non-Jewish people had previously believed that Christ was the Son of God, but they had not received the promised Comforter. When this took place, and the Gentile believers were accepted into equal fellowship with their Jewish counterparts, discord developed over the necessity of adherence to the Mosaic law. At a Church council in Jerusalem in A.D. 40, it was decided that the Gentile Christians would only be required to abstain from such moral pollutions as worshipping idols and committing fornication. This was a victory for the concept that salvation was obtained through forgiveness of sins and the indwelling Holy Spirit, not through

40.

⁸ Claude Holmes Thompson, "The Witness Of American Methodism To The Historical Doctrine Of Christian Perfection," 4 vols., PH.D. dissertation (Madison, New Jersey: Drew University, 1949), I, 81, 82, 88. Cited hereafter, Thompson "Witness Of Methodism."

adherence to the law.⁹ When the Gentiles were put on an equal basis with the Jews, the Church gradually lost its Jewish character. This was not to say that the Christian Jews immediately forsook their heritage; rather, over a period of years, they turned from the legalism of the Old Testament to the physical and spiritual laws initiated by Christ.¹⁰

Sainthood as exemplified in both spiritual experience and expression was not as strongly stressed during the second century A.D. as it had been during the first. By the end of the first century, the Church had within its ranks many learned apologists who not only based their theological precepts on Christian writings but consulted and relied on non-Christian philosophers to support their teachings. Such men felt that knowledge and true perfection were closely associated.¹¹

Irenaeus (120-202) supported his written concepts concerning the combined providence and goodness of the Christian God (one) by quoting the Greek philosopher, Plato, who said: "God indeed, possesses the beginning, the end, and the mean of all existing things, does everything rightly, . . . justice always follows him against those who depart from

⁹The Acts of the Apostles 15:6-20.

¹⁰Thompson, "Witness Of Methodism," I, 82. An example of the early Christian Jew's interaction with their ancient heritage was the fact that they continued to worship on the seventh day of the week at the Jewish synagogues and also on the first day of the week (known as Lord's Day) with the Gentile believers. Frank C. Masserano, "A Study Of Worship Forms In The Assemblies Of God Denomination," Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1966), 23.

¹¹Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Translations Of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, 10 vols., I, Book 3, Irenaeus Against Heresies by Irenaeus, 458-460. Cited hereafter, Roberts and Donaldson, eds., [Titles and authors vary] Irenaeus Against Heresies.

the divine law." Further relying upon Plato, Irenaeus said that the "Maker and Framer of the universe is good and no envy ever exists regarding Him." Thus, a second-century Christian conceptually established the divine function and holiness of God. Such men used the philosophers to complement and support the inspired writings of the earlier apostles. They did this not only to demonstrate the nature of God but to show how man could attain a part in His holiness.¹²

Clement of Alexandria (153-217) followed the pattern established by other Christian apologists and at the same time adopted the practice of referring to the believers as "true gnostics." By this twist of terminology Clement attempted to substract good from what he considered to be heretical.¹³ He often combined stoic, gnostic, and epicurean terminology and reason to demonstrate true Christian perfection. The Alexandrian exemplified this in his writings by using an epicurean phrase "medicine against grief," to describe the inner effect of salvation through Jesus Christ and reception of the Holy Spirit by the believer. Clement used Stoic terminology when he asserted: "The Word (Christ) through the power of the Holy Spirit tamed man, the least

¹²ibid., I, 459; Roberts and Donaldson, eds., I, Dialogue With Trypho A Jew by Justin, 245.

¹³John Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, 124. Cited hereafter, Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria. The gnostics were a second and third-century school of philosophers within Christianity. Gnosis was equated with knowledge and cognition, and the philosophy from which it derived its name and dealt with the metaphysical world and the nature of reality. This reasoning was applied to the reality of Christ; it was assumed that Jesus could not be both human and divine; he was therefore, a spirit who merely pretended to die on the Cross. Redemption could only be obtained by those who possessed sufficient ascetic and meditational powers. Therefore, only a select few could reach perfection. Carl Stephenson, Medieval History, Europe From the Second to the Sixteenth Century, 45.

manageable of all wild animals."¹⁴

Christ was first referred to as the Word or Logos (λογος) by the Apostle John when he said: "In the beginning was the Word, . . . and the Word was God. And the Word was made flesh and He dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, . . ." The term logos was also used by the gnostics to refer to divine reason. Thus, the Apostle John used gnostic terminology to show that Christ was both God and man.¹⁵

The logos, according to Clement, made the attainment of full salvation for men and women equally possible. Hence among Christians the double standard that had existed in the major cultures of the world since antiquity was abolished. Clement showed in his writings how Jesus freely disregarded Jewish custom by speaking to the woman at Jacob's well. He also showed that during the Apostolic Period (30-100) the Church leaders allowed women considerable freedom and authority. A typical example was Priscilla, who along with her husband, was responsible for instructing the Apostle, Appollos, in the way of Holiness.¹⁶

Both men and women received painfully equal treatment when called on to sacrifice their lives as witnesses for Christ. The women were no more willing than the men to deny their Savior by making public sacrifice to heathen gods. Clement again used the different heretical

¹⁴Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, 46.

¹⁵John 1:1, 14. (The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament with English translation by Alfred Marshall).

¹⁶Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, 72. Ever since the earliest days of the Christian Church, its leaders who taught holiness have also allowed women to fill important ecclesiastical roles. The Quakers, Salvation Army, Methodists, and other small holiness groups constitute the majority that have held to this practice in more recent times.

philosophies to explain why his fellow Christians so cheerfully surrendered their lives. The apologist asserted that to be burned alive, devoured by wild animals, or crucified was considered by his fellows as the ultimate fulfillment and perfection of a holy life. Such steadfastness showed a literal contempt for the material world. As the Alexandrian pointed out, both Christ and the stoics taught such consecration, but only the Christians were able through the inner strength of the Holy Spirit to seal their faith with their own blood.¹⁷ An example of such consecration was witnessed when the noted Christian apologist and Bishop of Antioch, Ignatius, was condemned to death. Just before his martyrdom, Ignatius showed his consecration to Christ by saying: "Now I begin to be a disciple. I care for nothing, of visible or invisible things, so that I may but win Christ."¹⁸ Such a fate was shared by an innumerable multitude of Christians who through their dying testimony caused the ranks of Christianity by the end of the second century A.D. to swell to approximately two million followers within the bounds of the Roman Empire.¹⁹

The Christian faith gained this remarkable numerical strength and eventually the acceptance of the Roman Emperor, Constantine, in A.D. 313, for several reasons. Among the most obvious were the Christian martyrs' heroic love and faith besides the inspired writings of their apologists who encouraged the believers and showed to a heathen

¹⁷ Ibid., 134-136.

¹⁸ William Byron Forbush, ed., Fox's Book Of Martyrs A History Of The Lives, Sufferings, And Triumphant Deaths Of The Early Christian And The Protestant Martyrs, 7, 8.

¹⁹ Roberts and Donaldson, eds., III, Apology by Tertullian, 55-58.

world that Christianity was based on strong philosophical, historical,
and Scriptural precedents.²⁰

The difference between the Emperor Nero (37-68), who was the first Roman ruler to persecute Christians, and Constantine, who granted them official acceptance, was startling. Nero burned Christians as a spectacle and at times to provide light for garden parties, while Constantine provided a marked contrast when in A.D. 325, he sat at the first Church council held at Nicaea--a council attended by three hundred and eighteen Christian bishops who represented every geographical area of the Roman world. Many of these men "wore the insignia of torture on their maimed and crippled bodies which gave the highest sanction of authority to the eternal deity of the once crucified Jesus of Nazareth!" Acceptance of the Church and the Christian faith by the Roman civil authority probably affected the followers of Christ more than any other single event until the Protestant Reformation over a thousand years later. The consequences were negative both in a physical (structural) and spiritual sense.²¹

Spiritually the Church declined after the persecutions were stopped. To a great degree this was an outgrowth of the Alexandrian's philosophical approach to holiness and the higher Christian life. As a result, two distinct factions developed within the Church. The first was made up of intellectuals who aspired to a holy or higher life through self-discipline and knowledge. These ascetics composed

²⁰Qualben, Christian Church, 103, 104.

²¹Philip Schaff, History Of The Christian Church, 7 vols., Ante-Nicene Christianity, A.D. 100-325, II, 72-74. Cited hereafter, Schaff, Ante-Nicene Christianity, II.

a moral nobility and self-made aristocracy while the second class represented the Christian masses who were not instructed in the way of holiness and were not expected to live in such a way as to obtain Christian perfection.²²

Acceptance of this on the part of the catholic or universal Church constituted a double standard of morality. To accommodate such a spiritual class system, distinctions were made between mortal and venial sins. Actually both classes had departed from the personal evangelistic profession of Christian holiness so strongly stressed in the New Testament teachings of the Apostle Paul. Therefore, the positive aspects of holiness faded during the fourth and fifth centuries, and the ascetic life became more and more accepted as the appropriate expression of Christian perfection. These trends continued in the area of philosophical Christianity and directly resulted in what became known as the Monastic orders.²³

Many historians over the years have attacked the monastic system for several reasons: first, "Flight from the world had no support in the Gospels; second, it implied that evil resided in matter; third, monasticism was a negation of life; and fourth, the Church universally identified it with perfection."²⁴ As monastic orders progressively developed during the fifth and sixth centuries, the secular world

²² Ibid., 394-396.

²³ Ibid., 305, 396. Mortal sins were those that were committed in a grave matter with awareness of guilt and full consent. Roman Catholicism taught that such transgressions brought death to the soul. Venial sins were ones committed in a minor matter or without reflection or consent. Such transgressions only merited temporal punishment. Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, 552, 985.

²⁴ Thompson, "Witness Of Methodism," 1, 114.

proceeded toward a state of anarchy. Such conditions existed in part because taxes continued to increase while at the same time the populace lost faith in the ability of the Roman civil authorities to withstand barbarian invaders from without and deal with a rising crime rate within the empire. The teachings of the Church regarding impending judgment from God, and the eminent physical return of Christ also caused many people to look upon their present life as uncertain. Such circumstances were vitally essential to the ascetics' justification of their negation of both civil and religious responsibilities. The very world the ascetics sought to escape desperately needed the holy example they could have provided.²⁵

The principal ideological reasoning that supported the ascetics' rejection of humanity was not peculiar to the fifth and sixth centuries only but was rooted in concepts established by the third and fourth-century stoic and gnostic philosophers. These philosophers taught that evil resided in matter and that perfection could only be gained through self-control and reason. Consequently, stoicism and gnosticism composed the natural philosophical parentage of monasticism. Christianity and heathenism were again combined, as they had been by the Alexandrians during the second century, in order, supposedly, to preserve Christian holiness.²⁶

The Church by the middle of the fifth century had developed into an organization which structurally resembled the Roman civil

²⁵George R. Crooks and John F. Hurst, eds., Library Of Biblical And Theological Literature, 9 vols., History Of The Christian Church, II, by John Fletcher Hurst, 681, 683. Cited hereafter, Crooks and Hurst, eds., History Of Christian Church.

²⁶Ibid.

government. Ecclesiastical authority vested in such a system with the Pope or Bishop of Rome as ruler was justified by the Western Church because of the tradition that the Apostle Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, and power was granted to him and his successors by Christ. This system of apostolic succession was supported by Irenaeus when he said that such a practice had been "derived from the apostles, . . . and comes down to our time by means of the succession of bishops: . . . inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously, . . ."²⁷

Actually it was not Peter's supposed bishopric of Rome that caused that city to be looked on as the center of the Christian world, but it was the fact that the capital was the commercial center and chief focal point of all civil life and authority. From this standpoint, Rome was superior to other great cities of the Mediterranean world such as Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch. Constantinople gradually assumed the leading political role within the empire by the fourth century, but Rome remained the ecclesiastical center of the world.²⁸

Growth of the well defined Western ecclesiastical hierarchy was supported by the bishops who constituted an elite body within the apostolic succession. The importance of the bishop was shown by Cyprian (200-256), one of the Church apologists, who quoted Peter: "Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church and the Church in the bishop; and if anyone be not with the bishop, then he is not in the

²⁷Roberts and Donaldson, eds., I, Book 3, Irenaeus Against Heresies, by Irenaeus, 459.

²⁸Crooks and Hurst, eds., History Of Christian Church, II, 715-717.

Church."²⁹

The influence or power of the priesthood was mainly based on the fact that the priests were the only ones who could administer the sacraments, and, therefore, were determinative in the salvation of each lay individual. The Lord's Supper, when performed and blessed by the priests, supposedly caused both the blood and body of Christ to be physically present in the sacrificial elements. Hence, what the priest did, he did as the representative of Christ. The Church as a result took on a new importance because it was only through its offices that the average Christian could receive the sacraments and consequent fellowship with Christ and his mystical (spiritual) Church.³⁰

Cyprian summed up the importance of such a system by asserting: "He can no longer have God for his father, who has not the Church for his mother."³¹

Almost total emphasis was placed on orthodoxy and sacramental ritualism within the Roman Church by the end of the sixth century. No

²⁹Roberts and Donaldson, eds., V, Epistle 68, The Epistles of Cyprian, by Cyprian, 374, 375.

³⁰Stewart D. F. Salmond and Charles A. Briggs, eds., The International Theological Library. The Ancient Catholic Church From The Accession Of Trajan To The Fourth General Council A.D. 98-451, by Robert Rainy, 231-233. Cited hereafter, Rainy, Ancient Catholic Church. The correlation between the Church and the sacrament of baptism was asserted by Cyprian when he wrote: "Dost thou believe in eternal life and remission of sins through the holy Church? We mean that remission of sins is not granted except in the Church, . . . where there is no Church, sins cannot be put away. . . . It is also necessary that he should be anointed by the Church priest who is baptized; so that having received the chrism, that is, the anointing, he may be anointed of God, and have in him the grace of Christ." Roberts and Donaldson, eds., V, Epistle 68, The Epistle of Cyprian by Cyprian, 376.

³¹Roberts and Donaldson, eds., V, Treatise I, The Treatises of Cyprian, by Cyprian, 423.

individual could come to Christ without going through the Church. This was a departure from first-century Christianity which practiced the sacramental ordinances, but looked upon them as a type of what had been accomplished by Christ in his victorious death and resurrection, not as containing the actual power or embodiment of that resurrection. Early Christians placed primary emphasis on a personal experiential knowledge of Christ. Such a knowledge consisted of two separate experiences: forgiveness of sins and consecration of the believer to the whole will of God which resulted in his reception of the Holy Spirit.³²

The theological teachings of Aurelius Augustine (354-430) marked a pivotal point in Christian thought. The importance and magnitude of his writings were evidenced during the upheaval caused by the Protestant Reformation when both the Romans and the reformers relied on him for confirmation.³³ The strong belief of Augustine in a personal relationship with God, and his abhorrence of sin inherently passed from Adam to each individual was evidenced in his statement that "the weight of sin always presses [humanity] downwards to a steep abyss and charity [divine love] raises us up again through the Holy Spirit." Augustine revealed his consecration to God when he wrote: "Woe is me except in Thee; and all plenty which is not my God is poverty to me." Such teachings brought him within the scope of early Christian thought and made his writings a valuable point of confirmation for later

³²Schaff, Ante-Nicene Christianity, II, 171-175.

³³William Hazlitt, ed., and trans., The Table Talk Of Martin Luther, with a memoir by Alexander Chalmers, 141, 142, 217, 232, 233. Cited hereafter, Hazlitt, Luther Table Talk.

Church reformers.³⁴

Augustine did, however, strongly back the authority of the Church and high clergy as universal. He made his stand on this point very clear when he asserted: "I should not believe the Gospel except as moved by the authority of the Church."³⁵ In other words, it was the

Neo-Platonizing and ecclesiastical Augustine rather than the Pauline, the author of The City Of God and the champion of the One Holy Catholic Church as a visible institution, rather than the author of the Confessions or of the anti-Pelagian treatises, who became the ruling influence in mediaeval Christianity.³⁶

Such a statement aptly characterized the principal aspects of Augustinian theology which the Papal Church nurtured for over a thousand years during the Middle Ages.³⁷

The progressive misuse of Church power by the hierarchial succession of bishops from the sixth to the sixteenth century led to an ecclesiastical revolt against sacramentalism and a partial recovery of the first-century emphasis on personal experience with God. According to the reformers, the four basic premises of primitive Christianity were: "(1) Man is justified by faith alone and not by words. (2) There is a general priesthood of all believers (God is accessible to every Christian without mediation of a priest or of the Church). (3) The Bible is the only source and standard for faith and life. (4) The

³⁴Whitney J. Oates, ed., with notes and intro., Basic Writings Of Saint Augustine, 2 vols., I, 232.

³⁵Marcus Dods, ed., Against the Epistle of Manichaeus Called Fundamental, from The Works of Aurelius Augustine, V, Writings in Connection with the Manichean Heresy, 101.

³⁶Thompson, "Witness Of Methodism," I, 123, 124; James Vernon Bartlett and A. J. Carlyle, Christianity in History, A Study of Religious Development, 426.

³⁷Crooks and Hurst, eds., History Of Christian Church, I, 457, 458.

Bible must be interpreted by the aid of the Holy Spirit."³⁸

Martin Luther and John Calvin were the two most important men in the sixteenth-century reform movement. The basis of their theological teachings was only a partial return to first-century Christianity. They stopped short of exhorting the Christian believer to go on to holiness as taught by Paul and the other Apostles. Luther in part supported the teaching of the early Church on the difference between original and actual sin. He said: "That original sin is to covet, lust, and desire, which is the root and cause of actual sin: such lust and desire in the faithful, God forgives, imputing it not unto them for the sake of Christ, seeing they resist it by the assistance of the Holy Ghost." On the other hand the reformer deviated from the first-century apostles by asserting: "Original sin, after regeneration . . . remains in Christians until they die, yet itself is mortified and continually dying. Its head is crushed in pieces, so that it cannot condemn us."³⁹

John Calvin varied little from Luther when he supported the reform doctrine that it was not possible for original sin to be eradicated from the heart of the believer before death. Calvin quoted Saint Augustine when he wrote:

all the pious ought, indeed, to aspire to this object, to appear one day immaculate and guiltless before the presence of God; but since the highest excellency in this life is nothing more than a progress towards perfection, we shall never attain it, till being divested at once of mortality and sin, . . .⁴⁰

³⁸ Qualben, Christian Church, 229, 230.

³⁹ Hazlitt, ed., and trans., Luther Table Talk, #244, 110; #256, 116.

⁴⁰ John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, 2 vols., II, 36.

The difference between the sixteenth-century European reformers, Calvin and Luther, and the eighteenth-century Englishman, John Wesley, stemmed from the conviction of Wesley that "heart purity" was required by God for each individual believer during his lifetime.⁴¹ This resulted from an exacting study of the original Hebrew Scriptures and the original Greek language of the New Testament plus other theological works.⁴² To the Continental reformers, the only perfection possible during life on earth was faith in the redemptive power of Christ; Wesley added to this a consecrational perfection in love and obedience to God brought by the indwelling Comforter.⁴³

Such teachings in part were derived from the writings of Montanus, who appealed to the mind of Wesley because of his systematic method of life and reliance on the Scriptures. In 1750 Wesley wrote in his Journal that Montanus and his followers were "real Scriptural Christians."⁴⁴ Many years later in the Arminian Magazine, John Wesley wrote that Montanus "was not only a truly good man, but one of the best men who lived during the second century; and his teachings were

⁴¹ Thomas Coke and Henry Moore, The Life Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Including An Account Of The Great Revival Of Religion In Europe And America Of Which He Was The First And Chief Instrument, 53. Cited hereafter, Coke and Moore, John Wesley. At age twenty-three Wesley was influenced by Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, a bishop in the Anglican Church, and a year later in 1726 by Christian Pattern by Thomas Kempis, who was an Augustinian monk, and by Christian Perfection and Serious Call by William Law. These men were known for their piety and ascetic devotion. Ibid., 52.

⁴² John Whitehead, A Discourse Delivered At The New Chapel in the City-Road, On the Ninth of March 1791, At the Funeral of the late Rev. Mr. John Wesley, 4, 5.

⁴³ Thompson, "Witness Of Methodism," 158.

⁴⁴ John Wesley, Journal of John Wesley, 8 vols., III, August 15, 1750, 490. Cited hereafter, Wesley, Journal.

rejected by the Church because he severely reprov'd those who professed themselves Christians and had not the mind of Christ."⁴⁵ In Wesley was culminated the teachings of the early Church; "his life embodied the morality of the Greek Christian (Fathers), the devotion of the third-century ascetic, and the philosophy of the Platonists."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ John Wesley, "Montanus," Arminian Magazine (London), VIII, January, 1785, 421.

⁴⁶ John Allen Wood, "How Was Mr. Wesley Led To Receive And Teach The Doctrine Of Holiness?" Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XIII, February, 1881, 29.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN METHODISM AND ITS PECULIAR MISSION 1784 TO 1830

The founder of Methodism, John Wesley, was born at Epworth, England, on June 17, 1703. His early life, while rather uneventful, molded the strong religious character he demonstrated as an adult. This character was exemplified by the leadership ability Wesley exhibited as a member of the Holy Club, a group of young men who bound themselves together at Oxford University in November, 1729, to study the Scripture, Latin and Greek classics, and to strive ascetically for Christian perfection. The activities of these ascetics consisted of visiting nearby prisons, teaching poor children, and at the same time maintaining a systematic approach to religious studies.¹ It was also at Oxford that John Wesley and his followers were derisively nicknamed the "Holy Club," "Godly Club," and "Methodists," and since that time, the followers of Wesleyan theology have generally been referred to as Methodists.²

It was in 1729, according to the Wesley brothers, John and Charles, that they first saw through the study of the Bible and other theological works that "men could not be saved without holiness. They followed after it and incited others so to do." In 1737, "they saw

¹Coke and Moore, John Wesley, 38, 54.

²George Bourne, The Life Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M. With Memoirs Of The Wesley Family To Which Are Subjoined Dr. Whitehead's Funeral Sermon: And A Comprehensive History Of American Methodism, 73-75. Cited hereafter, Bourne, John Wesley.

likewise that men are justified before they are sanctified, holiness was their object" and as a result "God thrust them out to raise a holy people." Wesley taught that sanctification is obtainable instantaneously, between justification and death, and that it is not 'sinless perfection,' but perfection in love, so that those who possess it 'feel no sin, nothing but love.'"³

³Henry King Carroll, The Religious Forces Of The United States Enumerated, Classified, And Described Returns For 1900 And 1910 Compared With The Census Of 1890, Condition And Characteristics Of Christianity In The United States, 221. Cited hereafter, Carroll, Religious Forces. In 1764 Wesley wrote down what he had observed about Christian perfection:

- (1) "There is such a thing as Christian Perfection, for it is again and again mentioned in scripture.
- (2) It is not so early as justification: for justified persons are to 'go on to perfection.' Heb. vi. 1.
- (3) It is not so late as death; for St. Paul speaks of living men that were perfect. Phil. iii. 15.
- (4) It is not absolute. Absolute perfection belongs not to man nor to angels; but to God alone.
- (5) It does not make a man infallible; none is infallible while he remains in the body.
- (6) It is perfect love, 1 John iv. 18. This is the essence of it: its properties, or inseparable fruits, are rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks, 1 Thess. v. 16 &c.
- (7) It is improvable. It is so far from lying in an indivisible point from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love, may grow in grace far swifter than he did before.
- (8) It is amissible, capable of being lost; of which we have had instances. But we were not thoroughly convinced of this for several years.
- (9) It is constantly both preceded and followed by a gradual work.
- (10) But is it in itself instantaneous, or not? In examining this let us go on step by step.
An instantaneous change has been wrought in some believers; none can deny this, who are acquainted with experimental

The Wesleys, along with George Whitefield, also a member of the Holy Club, were ordained ministers of the Church of England. Therefore, when they successfully led individuals to Christ in extra-ecclesiastical meetings, they instructed the new converts to join the established church. The Methodist societies formed by Wesley were initiated for the purpose of instilling within the Anglican Church the spiritual fervency of first-century Christianity. As such they constituted an ecclesiastical faction within the parent church. This close relationship between the Methodist Societies and the Church of England is evidenced in the "Articles of Religion," twenty-five doctrinal points by Wesley, taken from the "Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." Ultimately, the more important statements of Wesleyan theology were transferred to the English North American colonies. These included: (1) Present and personal salvation by faith, (2) the witness of the Spirit, (3) sanctification."⁴

The Wesleys first introduced these teachings in North America when the brothers came as missionaries to the colony of Georgia in October, 1735. They were unsuccessful and, consequently returned to England after two years. Another minister, Philip Embury, was the first Methodist to establish a permanent work in America based on Wesleyan

religion.

Since that change, they enjoy perfect love.--They feel this and this alone: they rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in everything give thanks. Now this is all that I mean of Christian perfection: therefore these are witnesses of the perfection of which I preach." A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, by John Wesley and later republished in A Collection Of Interesting Tracts, Explaining Several Important Points Of Scripture Doctrine published by Order Of The General Conference, 289, 290.

⁴Bourne, John Wesley, 340; Carroll, Religious Forces, 221-225.

theology.⁵

Embury arrived in New York on August 10, 1760, and preached his first sermon in his own home in October, 1766. That first congregation of Methodists consisted of four individuals, and from it the "class meetings" got their start.⁶ "Class meetings" were initiated in England by Wesley to meet the organizational needs of the Methodist societies and were usually divided into companies of five to ten persons who met under the care of a leader for prayer, testimony and spiritual admonition. The efforts of the American Methodists to spread Christian holiness were strengthened through the introduction of the "class meetings."⁷

The first Methodist Annual Conference held in the colonies met in Philadelphia on July 14, 1773, twenty-nine years after the first such gathering was held in England. When the American Conference met, ten preachers received appointments. It was also reported that Methodism had grown from one congregation in New York (consisting of four members) to a total enrollment of 1,160 members dispersed over a large geographical area within the colonies of Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.⁸

⁵Bourne, John Wesley, 28-35, 97-111; Richard Watson, The Life Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow Of Lincoln College, Oxford, And Founder Of The Methodist Societies, with translations by John Emory, 31-46, 201. Cited hereafter, Watson, Wesley.

⁶Ibid., 201, 322; Coke and Moore, John Wesley, 448; William Warren Sweet, Methodism In American History, 30, 31, 42, 43. Cited hereafter, Sweet, Methodism.

⁷Watson, Wesley, 67, 68, 201; Carroll, Religious Forces, 223.

⁸Coke and Moore, John Wesley, 451; C. C. Goss, Statistical History Of The First Century Of American Methodism With A Summary Of The Origin And Present Operation Of Other Denominations, 41. Cited hereafter,

American Methodism continued to grow and to spread the doctrine of Christian holiness which John Wesley described as " . . . the grand depositum given to the Methodists; and chiefly to propagate this, it appears God raised them up." During the early years of the societies both in America and England, this doctrine was supported without question. One year before his death, John Wesley wrote: If "any leader or local preacher speak against the doctrine of perfect love, let him be a local preacher no longer."⁹

The leading advocates of Christian perfection in the colonies during the American Revolution (1776-1783) found themselves in a difficult situation because of their close ties with the Anglican Church. Such closeness was apparent in the fact that from the beginning of Methodism in North America, Wesley always instructed the ministers of his societies not to administer the sacraments but to rely on the ordained clergyman of the Anglican Church for the elements. After the Colonies won their independence from Great Britain it became obvious to Wesley and the Methodist leaders in the new nation that if the Americans were to be successful in spreading the Gospel, they would have to form a new and separate ecclesiastical body.¹⁰

Goss, Statistical History.

⁹ Wesley, Journal, VII, 206; Abel Stevens, The History Of The Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, Called Methodist, Considered In Its Different Denominational Forms, And Its Relations To British And American Protestantism, 3 vols., I, 406.

¹⁰ Nathan Bangs, A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 4 vols., I, 151, 152. Cited hereafter, Bangs, History of Methodist Church. In 1775 John Wesley published an inflammatory pamphlet against the revolution. No doubt, his statements were injurious to the cause of Christian holiness and caused the Methodists in America to be branded as Tories. John Wesley, A Calm Address To Our American Colonies. For the disapproval of Francis Asbury on the involvement of Wesley in

A special conference for this purpose convened in Baltimore on December 24, 1784, attended by sixty of the eighty Methodist preachers in America.¹¹ Wesley sent Thomas Coke to help Francis Asbury, who had been in the colonies for thirteen years, to organize the new church.¹² These two men were elected superintendents or bishops by the preachers at the conference, showing a desire on the part of the Methodist leaders to adapt to the prevailing democratic spirit of the new nation. "Articles of Religion" by Wesley were accepted as the primary doctrinal statement for the new organization which adopted the name, Methodist Episcopal Church. The ministers in attendance stated that the primary purpose of American Methodism was "to reform the nation, especially the church, and to spread scriptural holiness over the land."¹³

American politics see Francis Asbury, Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury, 3 vols., II, March 19, 1776, 176, 177. Cited hereafter, Asbury, Journal. For another opinion see Watson, Wesley, 201, 202. He delivered an address at Cambridge entitled The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated In A Sermon Preached Before The University Of Cambridge, On Wednesday, May 29, 1776, by Richard Watson.

¹¹Goss Statistical History, 53.

¹²Bourne, John Wesley, 335-339. When the Revolution started, Francis Asbury was the only English preacher who adopted America. He was determined to stand or fall with the cause of independence. All the other preachers returned to England. John Emory, Defense of "Our Fathers," And Of The Original Organization Of The Methodist Episcopal Church Against The Rev. Alexander M'Cane And Others: With Historical And Critical Notes Of Early American Methodism, 127.

¹³Coke and Moore, John Wesley, 311, 460-462; Bourne, John Wesley, 340; Jesse Lee, A Short History Of The Methodists, In The United States Of America; Beginning In 1766, And Continued Till 1809, 91. Cited hereafter, Lee, Methodists. "The labors of Doctor Coke were great. He crossed the Atlantic Ocean no less than sixteen times; he paid eight visits to the United States and four to the West Indies Islands. He travelled extensively both in Europe and America. . . . In 1797 and 1805 he was president of the American Conference. . . ." "A Short Account of the Life and Death of Doctor Thomas Coke," The Western Christian Monitor (Chillicothe, Ohio), I, 1816, 21. For a more detailed account of his life see Samuel Drew, The Life Of The Rev. Thomas Coke,

As the people on the Eastern seaboard moved into the unsettled regions of the American frontier, they took with them many previously divergent religious and secular beliefs. The area west of the Allegheny Mountains provided a common ground where such ideology could meet and be fused into a new and composite whole. This was true because the frontier had very few well established social traditions such as existed in Europe and in the Eastern Tidewater Regions of the United States. Through the blending of social thought, the pioneer farmer gradually assumed the identity of a "new man" or an American. The characteristics which he carried with him to the frontier were discarded if they proved to be undesirable or did not blend well with the democratic and pragmatic spirit of the West. From such a system a new social order emerged which was peculiar to the West, and, therefore, acted as the driving principle which helped to reshape secular and religious institutions during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

As they pushed into the frontier regions, the leaders of American Methodism found it essential to initiate innovative methods which would illustrate the necessity of Bible holiness to the people. It was as defenders of Wesleyan theology that these men were made to realize that the pioneer farmers of Kentucky, Tennessee, and later the Ohio Valley were unable or unwilling to relate to the formalities commonly

Including In Detail His Various Travels And Extraordinary Missionary Exertions, In England, America, And The West Indies: With An Account Of His Death On the 3d Of May, 1814, While On A Missionary Voyage To The Island Of Ceylon, In The East-Indies.

¹⁴Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History? Intro., 1-3.

associated with the "Old World" religious orders. American Methodism, therefore, discontinued such practices as wearing clerical robes and using the liturgy or common prayer book compiled by Wesley. The primary teachings of English Methodism pertaining to Christian holiness, however, not only survived the transition from Europe to the American West but actually thrived on the egalitarianism of frontier life. The ability of Methodism to adapt to the pioneer ideology which asserted the rights of all men, at least in part, was related to its teachings on Christian holiness which stressed the free will of each individual and the necessity of living a life free from the bondage of sin. This doctrine was strongly stressed by the travelling ministers during the fifteen-year period following the 1784 inception of American Methodism¹⁵ and as a result the numerical strength of the church increased from 14,988 to 64,894 by 1800.¹⁶

One of the most successful methods used to spread Wesleyan doctrine among the frontiersmen was the American Camp Meeting. These meetings were launched in 1800 through a combined effort on the part of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist ministers in Kentucky. After a few years, the Presbyterians abandoned the camp meetings, primarily because of the unorthodox emotionalism which often accompanied these gatherings. Such an unwillingness to vary a set form of worship caused Presbyterianism to decline in the unsettled frontier regions.¹⁷

¹⁵ Helmut Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources Of Denominationalism, 172-174.

¹⁶ Coke and Moore, John Wesley, 462; Goss, Statistical History, 51, 66.

¹⁷ Edward Davies, Douglas Camp Meeting, Intro., XIV; William Warren Sweet, "The Protestant Churches" in "Organized Religion In The United

Some emotionalism was more or less accepted by the Methodists who encouraged people to seek after what was termed the "witness of the Spirit" and was generally accompanied by some form of outward demonstration. Many critics arose against these teachings to charge the Methodist leaders, and especially Bishop Asbury, with perpetuating religious fanaticism or what they termed "Methodist fits." Actually the ministers did not support outlandish displays of passion but taught the same doctrine that John and Charles Wesley promoted years earlier in England regarding "religion of the heart." This extreme emotionalism which was associated with the camp meetings was a manifestation of the unsettled conditions on the American frontier.¹⁸ This instability was witnessed in phenomenal demonstrations characterized by "the jerks" and rolling on the ground; at times people even tried to chase what they supposed to be the devil from the trees of the camp meeting site by barking like dogs.¹⁹ When such physical extravagances were

States," Thorsten Sellin, ed., The Annals of the American Academy of Social Science, MMLVI, Philadelphia: (March, 1948), 45.

¹⁸ John Atkinson, Centennial History Of American Methodism, Inclusive Of Its Ecclesiastical Organization In 1784 And Its Subsequent Development Under The Superintendency of Francis Asbury, 486-488. Cited hereafter, Atkinson, Centennial History.

¹⁹ Bernard Weisberger, They Gathered at the River, 127-137. As a camp meeting exhorter, Peter Cartwright attempted to "remedy" the "jerks" rather than encourage them. He regarded such demonstrations as hazardous by-products of the revivals. In his own words Cartwright "looked upon the 'jerks' as a judgment from God, first to bring sinners to repentance and secondly to show professors that God could work with or without means. . . ." Peter Cartwright, Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, 45, 46. Cited hereafter, Cartwright, Autobiography. For more about the "jerks" and the early camp meetings see Lorenzo Dow, History Of Cosmopolite; Or The Four Volumes Of Lorenzo's Journal. Concentrated In One: Containing His Experience And Travels, From Childhood to 1815, Being Upwards Of Thirty-Seven Years. Also His Polemical Writings, 138, 139, 148, 156, 157, 177-190.

witnessed in England during meetings conducted by John Wesley, he opposed them, and his brother, Charles, condemned such actions as "the works of the devil."²⁰

Even though many excesses took place during the formative years of the American meetings, the Methodists successfully used these gatherings to spread the doctrine of holiness and at the same time increase the numerical size of the church. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, American Methodism more than doubled its membership to 190,666. By 1811 Bishop Asbury estimated that between four and five hundred of these assemblages were conducted each year. Approximately ten thousand persons at one time or another attended camp meetings lasting from nine to ten days. Asbury revealed his support for this method of spreading Wesleyan doctrine when he wrote: "I think well of large meetings, camp meetings, and quarterly meetings. The more preachers to preach and pray, and so many of God's people and so many that need conversion, . . . we may hope for great things in the nature of things."²¹

²⁰ Henry C. Vedder, Church History Handbooks, 17 vols., Modern Church History from the Reformation to the Close of the Nineteenth Century, III, 66.

²¹ Atkinson, Centennial History, 491, 508. B. H. Gorham illustrated the importance of the camp meeting as an institution in the religious life of ante-bellum America when he said:

- (1) "They call God's people away from their worldly business and cares for several successive days, thereby securing time for the mind to disentangle itself of worldly care, and rise to an undistracted contemplation of spiritual realities.
- (2) The mind of the church is assisted in the effort thus to rise by being held so constant and so long in contact with the sublime truths of revelation.
- (3) Camp meeting services are well adapted to exercise the powers

These gatherings were usually held in the backwoods during their early years where the necessary items for conducting such protracted meetings were in abundance. The essential needs consisted of a good source of water near the campsite and sufficient raw lumber to construct a (temporary) stand for the preachers and cabins where the people could stay. About twenty men usually met at the appointed site a few days before the camp was scheduled to commence and prepared the grounds for the people who came on horseback and in wagons from as far away as twenty miles. All classes of people normally attended the meetings, and, almost invariably Saturday night brought "the roughs" and plenty of whiskey by the keg and jug full. These men sometimes mocked the religious services by using whiskey in conducting "sacramental meetings" in the woods surrounding the camp. They also showed contempt for the mourner's bench by mimicking the altar exercises.²²

of faith and prayer of the church; and they therefore greatly strengthen those powers.

- (4) By calling large numbers of our ministers and people together, to labor and enjoy in concert, they improve the bonds of Christian union among us.
- (5) They offer to the church an admirable break upon the worldliness of summer.
- (6) Multitudes hear the gospel at Camp Meetings who rarely or never attend church services elsewhere; and of those attracted to the place as they have been, by the singularity of the occasion, thousands have been converted to God.
- (7) Nor are these the only souls converted at Camp Meetings. These meetings are perhaps never held without being attended by persons under a painful sense of unforgiven sin, and who go there with an intention, often secret it may be, but firmly fixed nevertheless, to avail themselves of the extraordinary facilities there afforded for seeking salvation."

B. W. Gorham, Camp Meeting Manual, A Practical Book For The Camp Ground, in two parts, 17, 18.

²²"Old Fashioned Camp-Meetings Versus New Fashioned," Western

It was not uncommon, on the other hand, at these protracted meetings for such men to be converted. After conversion, they were instructed to go on to holiness which was sought as a separate religious experience and characterized as perfect love. People who claimed such an experience reported that they were compelled by God to surrender completely or consecrate their lives to His will; when this was done, they felt that the Holy Spirit filled their hearts with a perfect love.²³ Such incidents were common at most of the early camp meetings, and were often recorded by the advocates of Bible holiness. Peter Cartwright, for example, wrote in his autobiography:

Sister S. said that the covenant had hardly been made one moment, when God filled her soul with divine love, so she did not really know whether she was in or out of the body. She rose from her knees, and proclaimed to the listening hundreds that she had obtained the blessing, . . . She went through the vast crowd with the holy shouts of joy, exhorting all to taste and see that the Lord was gracious, . . . and scores of souls were happily born into the kingdom of God that afternoon and during the night.²⁴

Such times were often followed by songs of triumphant praise where the whole congregation could manifest their adoration for Christ. A typical verse from a hymn used consisted of:

You need not fear, the cause is good,
Come, who will list and be a soldier;

Christian Advocate (Cincinnati, Ohio), XL, September 17, 1873, 6. When such individuals became intoxicated they often attempted to disrupt the testimony portion of the meetings by jumping to their feet and shouting, "I am sanctified through and through and plumb full of bug juice." J. M. Keating, History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County, 3 vols., I, 153. For advice to the rowdies by Bishop Asbury see James B. Finley, Autobiography of Rev. James B. Finley; Or Pioneer Life In The West, ed., W. P. Strickland, 252, 253.

²³ Atkinson, Centennial History, 491, 492.

²⁴ Cartwright, Autobiography, 94.

In this cause the martyrs bled,
 And shouted vict'ry in the fire:
 In this way let's follow on,
 And soon we'll tell the pleasing story,
 How through Christ we gain'd the crown,
 And fought our way through grace to glory.²⁵

As a result of these gatherings a large number of people received either forgiveness of sins or a pure heart and were carried into the Methodist fold. It was not uncommon to witness 140 conversions and eighty experiences of sanctification all in one day, and during the larger camp meetings it was reported that as many as 1,100 were converted and 916 sanctified.²⁶

²⁵Orange Scott, comp., The New And Improved Camp Meeting Hymn Book: Being A Choice Selection Of Hymns From The Most Approved Authors, Designed To Aid In The Public And Private Devotion Of Christians, 110, 111.

²⁶William McDonald, "History Of Camp-Meetings," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 138, 139; Henry Boehm, "Camp Meeting Eighty-Nine Years Ago," The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXXI, November 7, 1895, 5; James Young, comp., A History Of The Most Interesting Events In The Rise And Progress Of Methodism In Europe And America, 371-389. Doctor Nathan Bangs recorded the rules normally used for the average camp meeting during the first half of the nineteenth century:

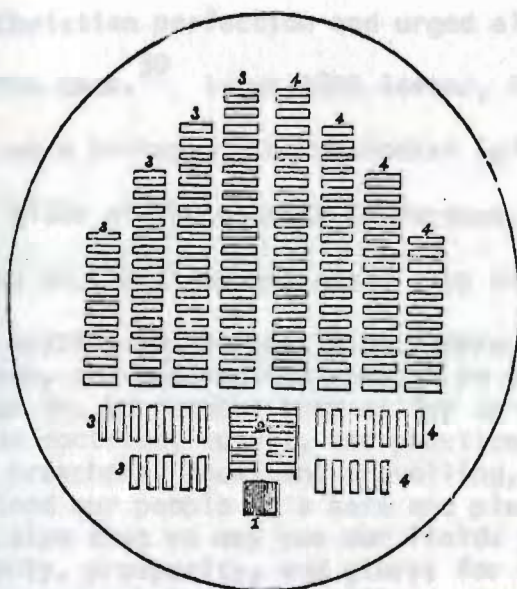
- (1) "The tents are generally arranged in a circular form in front of the preacher's stand.
- (2) The fires for cooking are in general behind the tents, so that the people may not be discommoded with smoke etc.
- (3) Lamps are prepared, and suspended on the trunks of the trees, and on the preachers' stand in sufficient number to illuminate the entire camp, and each tent must have a light burning in it through the night, . . .
- (4) The times of preaching are 10 A.M., and 3 and 7 P.M., notice of which is given by the sound of a trumpet or horn at the preachers' stand.
- (5) The intermediate time between preaching is occupied in prayer meetings, singing, and exhortation.

The universal success of the Methodist Camp Meeting during the first decade of the nineteenth century was followed by a period of religious indifference. One of the early ministers of the American church, Rev. Benjamin Lakin, in a letter of March, 1814, observed that there were three primary causes for this phenomenon: "(1) The confused state of affairs and the intrest [sic] every man takes in the events of the war-- [of 1812] (2) We have preached the gospel but have been deficient in enforcing the doctrine of sanctification, and (3) the people stoped [sic] in a justified state without persueing [sic] holiness." As a consequence, many professors of religion "have loss [sic] that bright evidence of their acceptance with God they once had, and rest too much on general determination to serve God, . . ." ²⁷ Bishop Asbury was concerned about such a situation and even admitted that he had "not

-
- (6) In time of worship persons are prohibited from walking to and fro, talking, smoking, or otherwise disturbing the solemnities of the meeting.
 - (7) All are required, except on the last night of the meeting to be in their tent at 10 P.M., and to arise at 5 A.M.
 - (8) At 6 A.M., they are required to take their breakfast, before which family prayer is attended in each tent occupied by a family.
 - (9) In time of preaching all are required to attend, except one to take care of the tent.
 - (10) That these rules may be observed, they are published from the stand, and a committee appointed to enforce them.
 - (11) A watch is generally appointed to superintend the encampment at night, to keep order to see that no stragglers are on the ground, and to detect any disorderly conduct." Bangs, History of Methodist Church, II, 266, 268.

²⁷ William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier. 1783-1840, 4 vols., The Methodists, IV, 249. Cited hereafter, Sweet, The Methodists; taken from Journal of Benjamin Lakin, March 15, 1814, n.p. Benjamin Lakin Papers, Divinity Library, University of Chicago.

Figure 1.



Ground plan of Camp Ground, 14 by 16 rods. Scale, 5 rods to the inch.

REFERENCES:

1. Stand, or speakers' platform.
2. Altar.
3. Seats — ladies' side.
4. Seats — gentlemen's side.
- C. Circle on the outside of which the tents are to be built.

B. W. Gorham, Camp Meeting Manual, A Practical Book For The Camp Ground, in two parts (Boston: H. V. Degen, 1854), 135.

preached sanctification strong enough." The bishop, after reflecting on the problem, vowed to proclaim holiness of heart "more pointedly than ever before."²⁸

The early Methodist bishops including Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, Richard Whatcoat, William McKendree, Enoch George, Robert R. Roberts, Joshua Soule, Elijah Hedding, James O. Andrew, John Emory, Beverly Waugh, and Thomas A. Morris²⁹ all supported without deviation the Wesleyan concept of Christian perfection and urged all the officials of the church to do the same.³⁰ In an 1820 letter, Enoch George, in his official capacity as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, admonished a presiding elder of the Genesee Conference, western New York, to uphold the doctrine of Christian holiness. The bishop wrote:

I have been writing to the presiding elders in the New England, New York, and Genesee Conferences on one particular subject; that is, to request them as far as possible to introduce the doctrine, spirit, and practice of holiness among their preachers, local and travelling, . . . that we may, . . . lead our people in a safe and pleasant way to heaven, and also that we may see our fields of labor blooming with beauty, prosperity, and glory; for we shall find a holy ministry and a holy people will, in general, be successful in gathering souls to Christ.³¹

²⁸Asbury, Journal, II, September 22, 1793, 206.

²⁹Matthew Simpson, ed., Cyclopaedia Of Methodism Embracing Sketches Of Its Rise Progress And Present Condition, 59, 234, 636, 577, 494, 760, 340, 814, 444, 36, 904, 631, 109. Cited hereafter, Simpson, Methodism. The first bishops in order of their election were: Thomas Coke (1784-1814), Francis Asbury (1784-1816), Richard Whatcoat (1800-1806), William McKendree (1808-1835), Enoch George (1816-1823), Robert R. Roberts (1816-1843), Joshua Soule (1824-1845), Elijah Hedding (1824-1852), John Emory (1832-1835), James O. Andrew (1832-1844), Beverly Waugh (1836-1852), Thomas A. Morris (1836-1874), Leonidas L. Hamline (1844-1865), Elmund A. Janes (1844-1876), Matthew Simpson (1852-1884). Ibid.

³⁰Charles Munger, "Holiness And The Methodist Episcopate," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, January, 1871, 106.

³¹William McDonald, "Bishop George's Letter To Presiding Elders On

When the General Conference met every four years, the bishops in their addresses to the delegates admonished them not to neglect the preaching of holiness in their local areas. In 1832 the episcopal leaders specifically alluded to the fact that Methodism at that time had few living witnesses who could honestly testify that the "blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." The bishops continued by saying: "Among primitive Methodists, the experience of this high attainment in religion may justly be said to have been common: . . ." Many of the holiness leaders (other than the bishops) held powerful and influential positions in the church.³²

Holiness," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, January 22, 1891, 1.

³² John Leland Peters, Christian Perfection And American Methodism, 99, 100. Cited hereafter, Peters, Christian Perfection. "A Memorial To The Bishops Of The Methodist Episcopal Church On The Subject Of Entire Sanctification," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. X, February 11, 1892, 5; "The Voice Of The Bishops," Ibid., XIV, March 19, 1896, 2, 3, showed how the early leaders felt about entire sanctification:

"I have constantly testified for these five and twenty years, in private and public, that we are sanctified, as well as justified, by faith. And, indeed, the one of these great truths does exceedingly illustrate the other. Exactly as we are justified by faith, so are we sanctified by faith.

John Wesley, Journal of John Wesley, 1, 338.

Dr. John McClintock said: 'If Methodism retains that doctrine and the experience of sanctification, the next century is ours.'

John Wesley, Journal of John Wesley, VI, 529.

If Methodists give up the doctrine of entire sanctification, or suffer it to become a dead letter, we are a fallen people.

Episcopal Address, General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1824.

One such individual was the Rev. Nathan Bangs, who, as a young man professed the experience of Christian holiness. Rev. Bangs first gained prominence in the Methodist Church when he served as an elected delegate to the General Conference of 1808, a position which he held in that body until 1865 (with the exception of 1848). This strong advocate of Christian perfection was also responsible in 1820 for founding and writing the constitution of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bangs held the offices of vice president, secretary, and treasurer of that society for sixteen years. In addition to these duties he was appointed by the General Conference of 1828 to be editor of both the Methodist Magazine and the New York Christian Advocate. The latter was founded in 1826 and was one of the most influential nineteenth-century Methodist periodicals. The most lasting contributions of Bangs, however, were his published works which were a defense of primitive Wesleyan doctrine.³³

The doctrine of entire sanctification constitutes a leading feature of original Methodism . . . Be assured, brethren, that if our influence and usefulness, as a religious community, depend upon one thing more than any other, it is upon our carrying out the great doctrine of sanctification in our life and conversation. When we fail to do this, then shall we lose our pre-eminence; and the halo of glory which surrounded . . . our sainted fathers, will have departed from their unworthy sons. O brethren, let your motto be "Holiness to the Lord."

Episcopal Address, General Conference
Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840.

We would . . . exhort you, dear brethren, that the doctrine of entire sanctification, or entire holiness, be not confined to our standards; but that it may be a matter of experience in our hearts.

Episcopal Address, General Conference,
Methodist Episcopal Church, 1852.

³³Simpson, Methodism, 85, 86. Bangs works included: A History Of The Methodist Episcopal Church; The Necessity, Nature, and Fruits Of

Another Methodist whose work may have had a more lasting effect than Bangs on the doctrine of Christian holiness and its propagation was the Rev. Timothy Merritt. This man entered the Methodist ministry in 1796 as a member of the New England Annual Conference and was responsible for publishing the Guide To Christian Perfection, the first Methodist periodical wholly dedicated to the propagation of Wesleyan holiness. This magazine first appeared in Boston in July, 1839. Dr. James Porter, who knew Merritt as a personal colleague, said of him:

'Father Merritt' . . . lived and died untitled by man, he possessed those enviable qualities which titles, alas too often! falsely indicate. He was a learned man, a man deeply read in divinity and philosophy, critical in his observations, powerful in his analyses, of untiring application, deeply experienced in the things of God, always exhibiting the fruits of the Spirit by the patience of faith and the labor of love.³⁴

Dr. Abel Stevens, one of the principal historians of nineteenth-century Methodism, left a fitting memorial to Timothy Merritt when he wrote: "The great doctrine of Christian perfection was his favorite

Sanctification: A Series Of Letters To A Friend; The Present State, Prospects, and Responsibilities of the Methodist Episcopal Church: With an Appendix of Ecclesiastical Statistics; The Reformer Reformed: or A second part of The Errors of Hopkinsianism Detected and Refuted: Being an Examination of Mr. Seth's Williston's 'Vindication of Some of the most Essential Doctrine of the Reformation'; The Errors of Hopkinsianism Detected and Refuted: In Six Letters to the Rev. S. Williston, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Durham, N. Y.; An Examination of the Doctrine of Predestination: As Contained in a Sermon, Preached in Burlington, Vermont, by Daniel Haskel; Letters to Young Ministers of the Gospel: On the Importance and Method of Study; The Life of James Arminius, D.D.; A Discourse on Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Wilbur Fisk, President of the Wesleyan University; The Reviewer Answered: or The Discipline and Useages of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Defended Against the Attacks of the Christian Specator; A Vindication of the Methodist Episcopacy.

³⁴George Hughes, Fragrant Memories Of The Tuesday Meeting And The Guide To Holiness, And Their Fifty Years Work For Jesus, 164. Cited hereafter, Hughes, Fragrant Memories.

theme. He was a living example of this truth."³⁵

Two lay persons, however, Dr. Walter C. and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, were the most highly respected and influential holiness advocates within the ranks of American Methodism. As a physican in New York City, Dr. Palmer, with his wife, was responsible for leading literally thousands of people into the experience of Christian holiness.³⁶

The Palmer family as early as 1835 encouraged their close friends to propagate the doctrine of Christian holiness in every possible way. It was the sister of Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Sarah Langford, who during the summer, was instrumental in combining the Ladies Prayer Meetings of two New York Methodist congregations into an extra-ecclesiastical meeting for the promotion of holiness. Not long after this was accomplished, Phoebe Palmer received the blessing of entire sanctification and as a result assumed the responsibility of conducting these gatherings each Tuesday in her home.³⁷

It was during the same year (1835) that Mrs. Langford also suggested to the Rev. Timothy Merritt that he publish the holiness periodical, the Guide To Christian Perfection. Almost all of the material in the early issues of the Guide consisted of testimonies to the reality of Christian holiness as a second experience obtained through faith in Christ. The majority of such statements of faith were supplied by

³⁵Ibid., 135.

³⁶George Hughes, The Beloved Physican, Walter C. Palmer, M.D., and His Sun-Lit Journey to the Celestial City, 164, 167. Cited hereafter, Hughes, Beloved Physican.

³⁷Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism And Social Reform, American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War, 105.

phoebe Palmer, who recorded them as they were first verbally given during the "Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness." This group ultimately composed of hundreds of Methodist ministers, two bishops, and three men who would later assume that office, received instruction toward "heart purity" when they attended the weekly meetings held in the parlor of the Palmer home. By the end of the long evangelistic career of the Palmers in the 1880s, 238 Prayer Meetings, such as they had established in New York, were meeting weekly. There were fifteen of these meetings in Philadelphia, fourteen in Boston, twelve in Baltimore, seven in Toronto, Canada; and in addition six in other foreign countries.³⁸ The more influential men who attended and received instruction at these gatherings developed into an inner circle of holiness advocates within the general body of American Methodists. These individuals, both men and women, along with the Palmers kept the "banner of holiness to the Lord ever displayed" whereby their numbers were greatly multiplied to constitute a company of literally thousands.³⁹

The Bible doctrine of entire sanctification was restored to the focal point it had enjoyed during the early years of Methodism while under the leadership of the Palmers. They travelled extensively in the United States, England, and Canada conducting revival meetings. In the winter the doctor stayed in New York and attended to his medical practice while she went on evangelistic tours. In the summer, however,

³⁸Hughes, Fragrant Memories, 30-35, 97.

³⁹George Hughes, "Days Of Power In The Forest Temple," Guide To Holiness: And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXIV, October, 1873, 117.

Dr. Palmer joined her in tent-meetings and revivals where he always "counted it a privilege to tell the people about the boundless love of Christ."⁴⁰

They both possessed the necessary attributes for such a work, including warm sensibility and a mild temperament. The doctor himself was a remarkable public reader, and when it came time for the congregational hymn to be announced, he would stand and read the verse before it was sung, interposing significant remarks as he read. After the song Mrs. Palmer would give a clear Bible lesson generally pertaining to Scriptural holiness. When she had finished, her husband would exhort the people to come forward to the mourner's bench and have faith in God to fill the needs of their hearts. The following exemplifies such an exhortation:

Shall we not give ourselves up fully to God, that His will may be done in and by us? We shall pass this way but once, and shall we not seek the enduement of power? Our calling is a high and holy one. Jesus has committed to his people the great and important work of making Him known wherever we go. He says, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature' . . . It will be according to our faith. Will we be found among the number of Jesus' witnesses?⁴¹

Frequently in these evangelistic services, it was reported that the Spirit of God was manifested through the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers in such a way that people lost track of time. At such meetings it was recorded that no fewer than fifty persons usually presented themselves at the altar to seek the full "baptism of fire." The extensive influence of the Palmers

⁴⁰ Simpson, Methodism, 691, 692.

⁴¹ Hughes, Beloved Physican, 167, 168.

was illustrated by one woman who travelled fifty-six miles by stage for the purpose of bringing an unconverted relative to one of their religious services. During one typical summer campaign, Mrs. Palmer reported that not less than two thousand were converted or sanctified at meetings she and her husband conducted.⁴²

Wesleyan doctrine was most effective when the "revival fires" were burning; people could be more easily convinced of their need for justification and sanctification under such circumstances. During the whole of the nineteenth century, these revivals came and went within American Methodism; and much good was accomplished, and, no doubt, many people remained true to God through their influence. In certain areas of the country, however, revivals were sometimes conducted by evangelists, who unlike the Palmers, relied on their own personalities to influence the people rather than letting God convict them of their sins. When such circumstances prevailed over a period of years, the people became skeptical about the inner life. Charles Finney, a noted nineteenth-century evangelist and advocate of Christian holiness, said that he visited areas in New York state ("the burnt-over district") where "revival fires" had left the field of labor "so blistered by constant revival flame that no sprout, no blade of spiritual life, could be caused to grow; only the apples of Sodom flourished in the form of religious ignorance and a tendency to free love and spiritual affinities."⁴³

Two other equally important circumstances were responsible for the

⁴² Ibid., 172-177.

⁴³ J. L. Neve, Churches and Sects Of Christendom, 398. Cited hereafter. Neve, Churches and Sects.

spiritual decline of the Methodist Church between 1830 and 1865. The decline partly evolved from the continuing prosperity of the country which to a certain extent was influenced by a steady trend toward increased industrial development of America, and therefore, the people became more and more wealthy. This situation was referred to by Nathan Bangs in 1837 when he asserted: "The Methodists are becoming more and more wealthy, and are thereby in danger with others of being swallowed up 'with the cares and riches of the world.'" These conditions were not conducive to the fostering of Christian perfection, and as a result this principal teaching of early Methodism, according to Rev. Bangs, was in many cases "well-nigh swallowed up in a welter of other considerations."⁴⁴

The principal controversy, however, that plagued not only the Methodists but all the major Protestant Churches in America from 1830 to 1865, was the issue of Negro slavery. The Methodists, because they tended to be emotionally inclined concerning moral and religious issues, were more easily affected by the highly excited climate which accompanied the slavery controversy. This fact combined with a rigid structural form of ecclesiastical government precipitated a schism in 1844 which divided the Methodist people, North and South, into two distinctly separate religious bodies.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Peters, Christian Perfection, 100.

⁴⁵John Nelson Norwood, The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844: A Study of Slavery and Ecclesiastical Politics, preface, 4.
Cited hereafter, Norwood, Schism.

CHAPTER III

DECLINE OF HOLINESS IN METHODISM 1830 TO 1865

As early as the 1784 inception of American Methodism, rules were drafted into the discipline which governed the institution of slavery. Accordingly, any Methodist who refused to free his slaves, unless the state in which he lived forbade it, was to be denied the elements of the Lord's supper and expelled from the church.¹ This rule or ecclesiastical law was established in accordance with the views of John Wesley on the subject. He believed that slavery was one of the greatest evils a Christian could fight, and in his 1774 book, Thoughts Upon Slavery, Wesley utterly denounced men who argued the necessity of continuing so evil an institution and described American slavery as "the vilest that ever saw the sun."²

The actions of the 1784 Conference reflected the ideological impact of the American Revolution which asserted the "unalienable rights" of all men, and was also in accordance with the stated purpose of American Methodism to "reform the Continent and to spread scriptural holiness [freedom] over these lands."³ Rev. Jesse Lee, the first historian of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a strong advocate of Christian perfection, said the language of the early conference was "too strong

¹Donald G. Mathews, Slavery and Methodism A Chapter in American Morality 1780-1845, 10. Cited hereafter, Mathews, Slavery.

²John Wesley, Thoughts Upon Slavery, 35.

³Lee, Methodists, 91.

and calculated to irritate our people and not convince them of their mistakes."⁴

The first two bishops, Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, along with the other leaders of early Methodism, were as strictly opposed to human bondage as they were in favor of Bible holiness. Bishop Asbury as early as 1780, however, "spoke to some select friends about [opposing] slave-keeping, but they could not bear it." Immediately following the "Christmas Conference" of 1784, Asbury recorded that he "found the minds of the people greatly agitated with our rules against slavery." By 1798 Asbury came to the conclusion that "slavery will exist in the [South] perhaps for ages."⁵ Thus, he showed his awareness of the impossibility of doing away with slavery without antagonizing the slaveholders. Asbury was convinced that slavery should be regulated and finally destroyed, but as an ardent defender of Christian holiness, he was determined not to allow the actions of the early conferences to hinder the preaching of the Gospel. The bishop felt that Christianity would "soften" the masters and "sweeten the bitter cup" of slavery for the Negro.⁶ Over a period of years, therefore, the Methodist Episcopal Church gradually eased its initial stand against slavery.

⁴History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South: Comprehending all the Official Proceedings of the General Conference; the Southern Annual Conferences, and the General Convention; with Such Other Matters As Are Necessary to a Right Understanding of the Case, Intro., III-VI.

⁵Methodist Quarterly Review, 1876, o.s. LVIII, D. D. Whedon, ed. 294.

⁶Asbury, Journal, III, 160. Francis Asbury to George Roberts, February 11, 1797. Conference rules regarding slavery appeared in Thoughts On Slavery by John Wesley written in 1774 and republished in tract form by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1839, 85-89. Four years before the M. E. Church was organized the Conference

In direct proportion to their laxity on the South's 'peculiar institution' Methodism gradually stopped stressing the importance of

condemned slaveholding in the following terms:

'The Conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, and hurtful to society: CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE AND TRUE RELIGION and doing what we would others should do unto us; and they pass their disapprobation upon all our friends who keep slaves and advise their freedom.'

1784

At the time the church was organized 'every member who had slaves in those states where the state will admit freedom shall after notice given him by the preacher within twelve months (except in Virginia, and there within two years) legally free his slaves.'

Every person, . . . who will not comply . . . shall withdraw from our society within twelve months. 'Those who buy, sell, or give them away, unless on purpose to free them shall be expelled immediately.'

1785

The minutes stated that they abhorred the practice of slavery and would not cease to seek its destruction.

1835

Some years after the above period the discipline contained the rule:

We declare that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of slavery and do earnestly recommend to the yearly Conference, Quarterly Meetings, and to those who have the oversight of these Districts to be cautious of persons they admit. They are directed to draw up the gradual emancipation of the slaves to those states in which no general laws have been passed.

1836

The General Conference condemned 'all abolition movements.' The Baltimore Conference has 'virtually declared the slave trade innocent, and the Georgia and South Carolina Conferences declared that slavery is not a moral evil.'

1837

The Baltimore Conference said the general rule in reference to

Christian perfection. This was because the doctrine of holiness emphasized the conceptional idea of spiritual freedom and as such was totally contrary to both the intellectual and physical bondage of slavery. Southern Methodism, as a result, was never as strong as the Northern branch of the church on the subject of Bible holiness; few Southerners, therefore, professed 'perfect love toward God and man' while holding their fellow human beings in bondage.⁷

'buying and selling men, women, and children should be taken, construed and understood, so as not to make the guilt or innocence of the accused to depend upon the simple fact of purchase or sale of any such slave or slaves, but upon the attendant circumstance of cruelty, injustice, or inhumanity. . . .'

The South Carolina Conference requested the publication of a sermon that maintained that God has 'instituted' 'authorized,' 'recognized,' 'justified,' and 'sanctioned the principles and practice of slavery.'

That God now approves of the present enslavement of the Africans and their descendants.

That Christians may lawfully hold slaves.

That admitting slavery to be a sin 'ministers have no right to pronounce it to be so.'

That the Jews were allowed by God, to buy those as slaves, whom they knew to have been kidnapped.

Slavery may exist universally and forever, without any evil, . . .

1838

At the Conference the following resolution was adopted:

'Whereas, we hold that the subject of slavery in these United States is not one proper for the action of the church, but is exclusively appropriate to the civil authorities; therefore, Resolved, that this Conference will not intermeddle with it, farther than to express our regret that it has ever been introduced in any form, into any one of the judicatories of the Church.'

⁷ Sweet, The Methodists, IV, 150, 160.

The numerical strength of Methodism in North America prior to 1810, nonetheless, was largely confined south of the Mason-Dixon line and the Ohio River. This was evidenced by the fact that in 1776, out of a total of 4,922 members eighty-nine percent lived in the Southern colonies. The main reason for this was that when the American Revolution took place, the Congregationalists of the New England colonies and the Presbyterians of the middle colonies cast their loyalty with the revolutionaries. In the South where the Anglican Church was predominant, these two groups had few supporters, and when the war went against the English, the Anglican clergy pulled out, leaving a vacuum which the Methodists were able to fill successfully.⁸ By 1818, however, it was obvious to most Methodists in the South, based on comparative statistics (114,569 - South and 115,058 - North), that they had lost their numerical superiority.⁹

The stagnated lack of growth of Southern Methodism compared to the supporters of Wesleyan theology in the free states of the North largely resulted from a steady migration of Virginia and Carolinian residents to the Northwest Territory. These Methodists left their homes to resettle in the Ohio and Indiana Territories because, they, as strong advocates of Christian holiness, were ardently opposed to slavery. John Sale, a presiding elder of the Ohio district and one of the founders of Methodism in the Cincinnati area, substantiated this in a February 20, 1807, letter to his brother, a resident of Virginia. Rev. Sale asserted: "The purity [holiness] of our doctrines is to our

⁸Neve, Churches and Sects, 384.

⁹Emory Steven Bucke, ed., The History of American Methodism, 3 vols., II, 83. Cited hereafter, Bucke, Methodism.

prosperity as the main spring of a watch is to its constant running [sic]. He continued by saying that the residents of Ohio did not have to contend with the contamination of slavery and as such "live as well as those of Virginia and better as it respects . . . peace and tranquillity." Another Methodist, Frederick Bonner, who moved from Virginia to Ohio during the first decade of the nineteenth-century, praised the virtues of his new home in July, 1807, because, as he said, "when once planted here our children are saved from the harmful practice of trading their fellow creatures in the manner I understand some of our friends have done in [Virginia], . . ."¹⁰

Even though most Methodists living in the free states of the North were opposed to human bondage, they were by no means united on a suitable method for its destruction. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the majority of such individuals, especially those who advocated Christian holiness were in favor of gradual emancipation for Negroes and their removal to Liberia in Northern Africa.¹¹ There was nevertheless, in the New England states a small but determined group who opposed gradual emancipation and advocated immediate freedom for all slaves. The fundamental declaration of this group proclaimed:

slavery is a sinful and criminal institution for which the nation ought immediately to repent; second, that the slaves 'ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of the law'; third, that colonization could be no substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery, . . .¹²

¹⁰ Sweet, The Methodists, IV, 160, 184, 196, 260.

¹¹ Mathews, Slavery, 91.

¹² H. Shelton Smith, In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910, 74.

Such individuals, because of their unbending support for the immediate abolition or destruction of Southern slavery found very little encouragement among the Methodists prior to 1830. This was particularly true among those persons favoring the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection.¹³ Many advocates of Bible holiness by the early 1830s, nonetheless, became convinced of the inadequacies of gradual emancipation and accordingly were converted in growing numbers to the abolitionist ideology. Such a development split the perfectionists' ranks within American Methodism.¹⁴

The fundamental principles of abolitionism as a moral protest against the evils of Southern slavery were dramatized by such individuals as Theodore Dwight Weld, the Tappan brothers, and William Lloyd Garrison. By the late 1830s Garrison through the pages of his eventually influential newspaper, The Liberator, had become the predominant spokesman for the radical abolitionist element. This publication which first appeared in 1831 on a weekly basis was almost singularly responsible for winning many prominent Methodists, who supported the doctrine of "perfect love," to the point of view of the abolitionists.¹⁵

The most prominent Methodists won to extreme Garrisonian abolitionism were the Revs. LaRoy Sunderland and Orange Scott. These men in 1831 openly opposed colonization or the removal of Negroes to Africa. Sunderland, the more aggressive of the two, all but severed his

¹³Mathews, Slavery, 145.

¹⁴Norwood, Schism, 29, 30.

¹⁵William L. Garrison, "To The Public," The Liberator (Boston), 1, January 1, 1831, 1.

affiliation with the conservative holiness faction in 1833 by taking an active part in the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The leaders of this movement, including Garrison, supported the doctrine of Christian perfection. Garrison revealed his strong perfectionists leanings in 1837 through a poem entitled "Christian Rest."

What is rest? It is to be
 Perfect in love and holiness:
 From sin eternally made free;
 Not under the law, but under grace;
 Once cleansed from guilt, forever pure:
 Once pardoned, ever reconciled;
 Once healed, to find a perfect cure;
 As Jesus blameless, undefiled;
 Once saved, no more to go astray; . . . 16

The majority of Methodist leaders, however, looked on the American Anti-Slavery Society as nothing more than a puppet organization which Garrison and his extremist colleagues founded in order to create discord within the established church. Sunderland and his Methodist associates, because of their association with the radicals of the National Anti-Slavery Society, were distrusted by the episcopal leaders;

16
 Wendel Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879 The Story Of His Life Told By His Children, 4 vols., II, 1835-1840, 153, 154. Sunderland and Scott were awakened to the condition of the "Black bondsmen" in the Southern states through The Liberator combined with other writings which included Thoughts on African Colonization: or an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the American Colonization Society by Garrison; The Anti-Slavery Examiner No. 4 and Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States by Theodore Dwight Weld; and American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. A graphic description related by Sarah M. Grimkee confirmed that while traveling in South Carolina she saw a human head stuck on a pole beside the road. Upon inquiry, she learned that it was the head of a runaway slave who had been shot, his head severed, and put along the public highway to serve as a deterrent to other Blacks contemplating such action. Such stories along with the general lack of visible action on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church stimulated Sunderland and Scott to adopt an extreme course of action. Theodore Dwight Weld, comp., American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses, 23, 77.

in consequence, the gulf between the ultra and conservative holiness factions within the church progressively widened.¹⁷

Four Methodist ministers, along with Sunderland, publicly assailed the church in 1835 for ignoring the "unjust, violent, and oppressive" system of slavery. Their accusations appeared in the February 4, 1835, issue of the Methodist publication, Zion's Herald, and marked the inception of a long and bitter conflict between the Methodist episcopacy, supported by official church magazines and the leaders of Wesleyan abolitionism.¹⁸ Such antagonists, in order to attack the Methodist bishops, accused the editor of the Christian Advocate And Journal, Dr. Nathan Bangs, of "apologizing for the enslavers of the human species and attempting to justify the system." Bangs denied that he justified slavery and explained that he hated the "disease but could not approve the prescription of the physicans." The "physicans" or abolitionists did not limit their assault on Methodism to its official publications but also relied on pamphleteering and independent magazines.¹⁹

Rev. Orange Scott, as one of the prominent Wesleyan advocates of immediate Negro emancipation, issued an anti-slavery pamphlet in 1836 which drew an immediate response from the conservative group. The pamphlet was officially censured as containing many "palpable falsehoods"

¹⁷Edward D. Jervy, "LaRoy Sunderland, Zion's Watchman, And Methodist Disunion 1830-1844," 17, 18. In 1839 the American Anti-Slavery Society republished a small pocket-size edition Thoughts On Slavery by John Wesley. This tactic, no doubt, had a profound effect on many Northern Methodists.

¹⁸Abram D. Merrill et al., "An Appeal to the Members of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences of the M. E. Church," Zion's Herald (Boston), VI, February 4, 1835, 14.

¹⁹Nathan Bangs, "A Great Mistake," Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), IX, February 20, 1835, 102.

by the Methodist General Conference which met in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1836. While the delegates at the conference condemned "the great evils of slavery" by a vote of 123 to 15, they also "disclaimed any right, wish or intention, to interfere with slavery as it exists in this country."²⁰

It was in response to such attitudes that the first radical Wesleyan abolitionist periodical, Zion's Watchman, appeared on January 1, 1836, in New York City. The basic perfectionists nature of this paper was revealed in the first issue when its editor, LaRoy Sunderland, stated, "we shall never speak or write what we believe to be true, but 'in love!'" Rev. Sunderland made this statement as he called for an open and "peaceful" discussion of the complicated issue (slavery) that confronted Methodism.²¹ By November, 1839, the editor of the Watchman reported that the magazine was accomplishing the work for which it was intended. "The Methodist Episcopal Church no longer sleeps over the condition of nearly three millions of slaves in the Christian land. The attention of her ministry and members, East, West, North, and South has been aroused and directed to the consideration of this great evil."²² According to Rev. Orange Scott, the Watchman which had a circulation of about six thousand in 1839, was responsible for "abolitionizing the Maine Conference and regenerating others mainly in

²⁰ Lucius C. Matlack, The History of American Slavery and Methodism, from 1780 to 1849; and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, 139-142. Cited hereafter, Matlack, American Slavery and Methodism.

²¹ LaRoy Sunderland, "Our Object," Zion's Watchman (New York), 1, January 1, 1836, 1.

²² LaRoy Sunderland, "Prospectus," Ibid., IV, November 30, 1839, 190.

New England."²³

As a result of the increased trend toward abolitionism in the Northern Church, Southern Methodists, even though they were not openly in favor of slavery, adopted the stand that the church should not discuss or interfere with the "peculiar institution." This was reflected in a resolution passed by the Georgia Annual Conference of 1838. It resolved: "1. . . . that slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil. 2. That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influences of the religion of Christ, . . ."²⁴

The Methodist episcopacy supported the Southern view by admonishing all members, and especially the ministers of the church, not to be drawn into the slavery controversy. In many of the Northern annual conferences during the years 1836 to 1842, the Methodist bishops effectively employed their ecclesiastical position and prestige to avoid the question of slavery and preserve the unity of the church.²⁵

Ministers like Orange Scott and LaRoy Sunderland refused to abandon their views on abolition which they believed were founded on principles set forth in the Bible and in Wesleyan doctrine. Because of

²³Lucius C. Matlack, The Life Of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled From His Personal Narrative, Correspondence, And Other Authentic Sources Of Information, in two parts, 125, 126. Cited hereafter, Matlack, Orange Scott.

²⁴Bucke, Methodism, 27. Quoted from Orange Scott, "Appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church," The Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Review, 1838, 17.

²⁵Sweet, Methodism, 237, 238, 240.

this, these men were tried at least six times prior to 1840 by different Methodist annual conferences on charges ranging from "immoral and unchristian conduct" to "falsehoods, defamations, and misrepresentation."²⁶

The seventh and last trial charged Rev. LaRoy Sunderland with slandering Bishop Joshua Soule, who had reportedly said that he never advised the "liberation of any slaves, and thought he never would." The editor of the Watchman responded to the supposed statement of the bishop by publishing a poem which reflected the highly electrified state of the controversy.

Receive this truth--deep, dark thy stain!
Thy very soul is tinged with blood!
Go, do thy first works o'er again;
Go, cleanse thee in thy Saviour's blood!
Deborah²⁷

This last verse of the poem was brought to the attention of the New York Annual Conference, and as a result, that body preferred charges of slander against Sunderland at the New England Annual Conference of which he was a member.²⁸

Bishop Soule presided at the trial in which he allowed Rev. C. A. Davis, prosecutor, to present slanderous articles written by Sunderland, while he would not permit the defendant to read a letter published in the New York Weekly Messenger in which Davis reportedly called Sunderland an UNPRINCIPLED LIAR." When the defendant tried to present the Weekly

²⁶ LaRoy Sunderland, "Editor's Trial," Zion's Watchman (New York), V, April 11, 1840, 105.

²⁷ "Poetry To Bishop Soule," Ibid., IV, September 21, 1839, 152.

²⁸ LaRoy Sunderland Manuscript Statement, made April 22, 1872.
LaRoy Sunderland Manuscript, New England Methodist Historical Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

Messenger article in his own defense, the bishop ordered him to stop. To this Sunderland retorted that he would publicly read the controversial letter "in spite of all the bishops in the land." Soule then severely rebuked him by saying: "In all my experience and in all my intercourse with my fellowmen, I have this to say, that LaRoy Sunderland is the first man that ever dared to speak to me in that manner." Sunderland shouted back, "I thank God, Sir, that you have lived long enough to find one man who will tell you to your face what many others say of you behind your back."²⁹

Years later (1881) Lucius C. Matlack confirmed that the arraignment of abolitionists before the annual conferences "clothed them with the sacredness of martyrdom, and awakened misgivings," on the part of the average Northern Methodist.³⁰ The manner in which charges were preferred against the leaders of Methodist abolitionism combined with the lack of positive action on the part of the church was instrumental

²⁹Matlack, American Slavery and Methodism, 250-254; "Jotham Horton and Orange Scott, "Seventh Trial Of The Editor [LaRoy Sunderland] Of Zion's Watchman," American Wesleyan Observer (Lowell, Massachusetts), 1, July 23, 1840, 97-100. The defense of Sunderland before a full session of the New England Annual Conference lasted nearly four hours. He was not forbidden by Bishop Soule to read the Davis letter as stated by L. C. Matlack, but was instructed by the Bishop at the end of four hours to conclude his defense. This was, no doubt, the point and issue over which Sunderland and Soule openly quarrelled not over the content of the defense of Sunderland. Compare the Matlack account with the Horton and Scott account, Ibid.

³⁰Lucius C. Matlack, The Antislavery Struggle And Triumph In The Methodist Episcopal Church, 18, 19. This statement of Matlack was supported in a letter in which one anti-slavery proponent bewailed the injustice of the proceedings of the annual conferences. He concluded his statement by saying, "I have little hope of justice being awarded you or that favor will be shown you, when I think how strongly those are committed who are to act against you." "Editor's Trial," Zion's Watchman (New York), V, March 28, 1840, 51.

in leading Orange Scott, LaRoy Sunderland, and Jotham Horton to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church in November, 1842.³¹

A new and separate ecclesiastical organization known as the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America was formed as a result in May, 1843, in Utica, New York. This new church was subdivided into six conferences covering a geographical area extending from Maine to Michigan. At its inception it had six thousand members; eight months later the number had grown to fifteen thousand. The Wesleyan leaders asserted they were not withdrawing from anything essentially pure Wesleyan holiness, but from the episcopacy and slavery, both of which they believed to be anti-scriptural.³²

The official periodical of the new church, The True Wesleyan, first appeared on January 7, 1843, in Lowell, Massachusetts. It was published weekly by the Rev. Orange Scott with an annual subscription price of two dollars.³³ The magazine condemned the moral evils of

³¹Jotham Horton, Orange Scott, and LaRoy Sunderland, "Withdrawal from The M. E. Church," The True Wesleyan (Lowell, Massachusetts), 1, January 7, 1843, 1.

³²Matlack, Orange Scott, 209-215. According to Lucius C. Matlack as many as 105 stationed ministers along with approximately seventy-five hundred lay members withdrew from the Wesleyan Connection within a period of eighteen months following the end of the Civil War and the consequent permanent abolition of American slavery. Matlack and the majority of those who left the Wesleyan Connection reaffiliated themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church where many became active participants in the National Camp Meeting Association and the holiness revival that swept across North America during the last half of the nineteenth century. Lucius Matlack, "American Wesleyans," The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia), 1, October 26, 1867, 340.

³³John B. Hall, "Terms," The True Wesleyan (Boston), 1, May 20, 1843, 77. American Wesleyan Observer (Lowell, Massachusetts), January 2, 1840 - August 13, 1840, along with the New England Christian Advocate (Lowell, Massachusetts), January, 1841 - ?, acted as the immediate predecessors to The True Wesleyan. All three of these publications had strong perfectionist leanings, but because of the excited

slavery which Scott asserted were contrary to the Christian "law of love" (holiness). Scott emphasized the importance of Christian perfection when he said: "We have taken high ground on the moral questions [slavery] of the day. Our lives will be critically examined, our motives scanned. Our only recourse is to live down opposition. This we cannot do without personal holiness."³⁴

The withdrawal from Episcopal Methodism by many Northern members, and their formation of the Wesleyan Connection had a profound effect on the parent body. As a result when the next Methodist General Conference convened in New York City on May 1, 1844, many Northern delegates, especially those representing the New England Area Annual Conferences, were determined to censure the slave-holding Methodists of the South.³⁵

When it was revealed that a Southern bishop, James O. Andrew, owned two Negro slaves, the issue of human bondage could no longer be pushed aside as not being relevant to the church. The majority at the conference, by a vote of 116 to 60, refused to accept the Southern argument that Bishop Andrew, who was a resident of Georgia, was not required to emancipate his slaves. Andrew was instructed in the words of the conference to "desist from the exercise of his office so long

state of the slavery controversy, the Wesleyan doctrine of perfect love was seldom mentioned specifically in their columns.

³⁴Jotham Horton and LaRoy Sunderland, "Christian Holiness," The True Wesleyan (Boston), 1, April 15, 1843, 59.

³⁵Norwood, Schism, 59-63. Dr. William Capers, leader of the South Carolina delegation, confirmed the consequential importance of the Wesleyan secession when he asserted: "It is not worth while to split the hair which divides the present 'conservatives,' as they call themselves, from the abolitionists of a few years ago. Anything short of the most rabid and fanatical abolitionism is called conservative." William Capers, "Letter From Dr. Capers," Southern Christian Advocate (Charleston, South Carolina), VII, May 24, 1844, 198.

as the impediment slave-holding remains."³⁶ The investigation which resulted in the public censuring of Bishop Andrew lasted from May 20 to June 8, 1844, and culminated in what was referred to as the Plan of Separation. According to this plan, the Methodist Episcopal Church along with its properties was to be divided North and South of the Mason-Dixon line and the Ohio River. When the majority of the Northern annual conferences met, they refused to endorse such a plan. Their vote was sustained by the 1848 General Conference which also rejected the 1844 Plan of Separation.³⁷

The predominant attitude of most Northern Methodists after the formation of the Wesleyan Connection and the schism which split the church was well stated in 1852 by Daniel Wise, editor of Zion's Herald. "We are for peace and purity," he asserted, "but towards slavery we cannot show aught but undisguised abhorrence. Our only business with it, shall be to seek its 'extirpation' by all judicious and prudent means; especially from the Church of Christ."³⁸

Because the Northern Church would not recognize the Plan of Separation, the leaders of the Church, South, felt they had no other alternative but to turn to the civil courts. In August, 1849, judicial

³⁶ Journal of the General Conference 1844, 11, 75-78, (1800 Georgia legislation prohibited emancipation in any form except by legislative enactment).

³⁷ Bucke, Methodism, 56-62. For a contemporary account of events immediately prior to and during the 1844 General Conference see "The National Anti-Slavery Convention," Niles National Register (Baltimore, Maryland), o.s. LXIV, September 16, 1843, 47; "The Methodist Episcopal General Conference," Ibid., LXV, May 18, 1844, 192; William Davis, "The Southern Convention," Ibid., LXVI, July 13, 1844, 311.

³⁸ Daniel Wise, "The New Editors Greetings," Zion's Herald And Wesleyan Journal (Boston), XXIII, July 7, 1852, 2.

action was initiated in the United States Circuit Court of New York against the New York branch of the Methodist Book Concern, and in June, 1852, another suit was filed in Cincinnati against the Ohio Book Concern. The New York case was decided in favor of the Church, South,³⁹ but the Ohio case had to be carried all the way to the United States Supreme Court (*William A. Smith v. LeRoy Swormstedt*) which in 1853 reversed the decision of the lower court and ordered the Book Concern property divided.⁴⁰ The bitterness stimulated by the Methodist schism of 1844 and the Book Concern controversy that ensued were hardly conducive to the fostering of the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian holiness or "perfect love."

There was, however, a small group of holiness advocates who refused to become entangled in the slavery controversy. The leading figures within this group included Dr. Walter C. and Phoebe Palmer who played a primary role in perpetuating the doctrine of Christian perfection during the turbulent years when the slavery controversy was so hotly debated. The many writings of Mrs. Palmer on the subject of "perfect love" proved very popular. The Way of Holiness (1845) appeared in as many as thirty-six different editions and by 1851 had sold twenty-four thousand copies. It was translated into the French and German languages, while Faith and Its Effects (24th ed., 1859) was translated into the German. Other popular works distributed abroad

³⁹Sweet, Methodism, 256-267.

⁴⁰*William A. Smith v. LeRoy Swormstedt*, 57 U. S. (16 Howard), 288-313 (1853). The suit was filed by William A. Smith as the appointed representative of the Church, South against LeRoy Swormstedt and John H. Powers, agents of the Book Concern at Cincinnati. Also see R. Sutton, The Methodist Church Property Case Henry B. Bascom and Others vs. George Lane and Others.

included: Entire Devotion (20th ed., 1859), The Promise of the Father (1859), Incidental Illustrations (1855), and Four Years in the Old World (1867). In addition to her writings Mrs. Palmer and her husband conducted revivals and camp meetings along with the Tuesday prayer meetings they had held in their New York City home since the summer of 1836.⁴¹

This remarkable couple in 1859 demonstrated their dedication to the cause of Christian holiness in foreign lands as well as at home by beginning a four-year tour of Great Britain and Europe. During their stay in the "Old World" the Palmers held religious services in most of the major cities of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. The reported number of conversions at Sunderland, England, alone was 1,011 with 200 receiving "heart purity." These results typified the acceptance of the Gospel as presented by Dr. and Mrs. Palmer. When the couple returned home in 1863, they found the doctrine of "perfect love" generally neglected, even among the Methodists, because of the hatred stimulated by the Civil War.⁴²

This is not to say that Bible holiness became altogether extinct during the war years. Wesleyan teachings were at times emphasized even among the men in the armies, especially those of the Union. This was witnessed in May, 1864, among soldiers in the Third Division of the

⁴¹Hughes, Fragrant Memories, 4,5, 10-15, 183; Hughes Beloved Physican, 243.

⁴²Ibid., 189-205. Some of the cities the Palmers visited included: Belfast, Coleraine, Antirim, Bellaghy, Ireland; Sunderland, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Carlisle, London, Stroud, Lynn, Banbury, Oxford, Rochdale, Macclesfield, Sheffield, Liverpool, Madeley, Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, Nottingham, England; Brigend, Cardiff, Merthrtydvil, Abergavenny, Blarina, Aberdare, Wales; Glasglow and Edinburg, Scotland.

XIV Corps. It was reported that during their religious services as many as 450 sought Christ and 150 received baptism. Those converted were organized into interdenominational associations by the ministers of the Christian Commission and Chaplains of the 10th Kentucky and 17 Ohio Regiment. Among such "bands" entire sanctification or "holiness of heart" was thought of as being indispensable to the Christian life. A July, 1865, account in the Guide stated that several men of the 18th Illinois Regiment had reportedly bound themselves together in order "to worship God in 'perfect love and to sound the Gospel trumpet of holiness." Because of the devotion of this small Christian band (eleven members), there was a general awakening in their detachment, and many of their comrades found Christ.⁴³ But the war-time revivals were only a prelude to what was to come when the soldiers returned home.⁴⁴

⁴³"Revival In Camp," Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (Boston), o.s. XLV, June, 1864, 21; "How A Revival May Be Realized In Church Communities And In The Army," Ibid., XLVI, December, 1864, 137, 138; "Ernest Christian Band, Religion In The Army," Ibid., XLVIII, July, 1865, 30. A tent generally was set aside for religious activities and many times "small bands of praying men could be heard encouraging one another to fight the good fight of faith." Many men became Christians as a result of such meetings, and when they returned home they could recall with gratitude the sacred moments thus spent in the tent of the chaplain or under the soft sky of summer or around the camp-fires of winter. "Camp Life At The Relay," Harpers New Monthly Magazine (New York), XXIV, December, 1861 to May, 1862, 628-633.

⁴⁴Donald W. Dayton and Lucille S. Dayton, "An Historical Survey of Attitudes Toward War and Peace within the American Holiness Movement," 13, 14. Holiness leaders serving as chaplains in the Union Army included among others: Alfred Cookman, John S. Inskip, Gilbert Haven, Lucius C. Matlack, Milton L. Haney. Inskip was later elected the first president of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness and said he "felt assured of Divine aid, and deemed it a privilege to sacrifice for his country and the glory of God." William McDonald and John E. Searles, The Life Of Rev. John S. Inskip, President Of The National Association For The Promotion Of Holiness, 136. Cited hereafter, McDonald and Searles, Life Of Inskip.

The tragedies of war impressed upon the people of the North the necessity for a spiritual awakening. This need was voiced during the Methodist General Conference of 1864 when the bishops said:

It becomes us, dear Brethren, to humble ourselves in the dust in view of our manifold sins, individual and national. We are yet, it may be feared, a haughty people; and God will humble us. . . . Let God, our heavenly Father behold us in tears and confidence before his throne, pleading night and day, through the Redeemer, for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon the church, the nation, and the world.⁴⁵

The religious awakening called for by the bishops was not long in coming and was comprehensively reported by such Wesleyan periodicals as the Guide To Holiness. Dr. Palmer purchased this independent magazine in July of 1864 from the Rev. Henry V. Degen. Within two years the subscriptions had increased from 16,000 to an estimated 30,000. These figures were not totally indicative of the outreach the Guide enjoyed, because it was generally read by the members of one family who then passed it around to neighbors and friends. Revivals and camp meetings received much attention especially those in which entire sanctification was emphasized.⁴⁶

Such emphasis was the exception rather than the rule at Methodist camp meetings immediately following the Civil War, and, therefore, when "heart purity" was stressed at the Seaville Camp Meeting (Cape May County, New Jersey) in 1865, it received wide coverage in many of the

⁴⁵George Hughes, Days Of Power In The Forest Temple. A Review Of The Wonderful Work Of God At Fourteen National Camp-Meetings, From 1867 To 1872, 34. Cited hereafter, Hughes, Days Of Power.

⁴⁶Hughes, Fragrant Memories, 172-180. Dr. Palmer acquired a second periodical, The Beauty Of Holiness in 1864 about the same time he purchased the Guide To Holiness. He consolidated these two Wesleyan papers and appointed his wife editor. The yearly subscription price changed from \$1.00 to \$1.25 because of economic inflation stimulated by the Civil War.

church periodicals. In 1866 at the same camp meeting, the main emphasis was again placed on the experience of entire sanctification, and, according to Rev. George Hughes, the grounds were literally "swept clean of sin by holy fire from heaven."⁴⁷ Following the Civil War, many Methodists felt the need for holding camp meetings completely dedicated to the cause of Christian perfection, and the results reported at the Seaville Camp Meeting in 1865 and 1866 only strengthened this desire. The Rev. John A. Wood in 1865 was the first man to propose publicly such a camp meeting. The suggestion of J. A. Wood was picked up by the Rev. William B. Osborn and presented to Rev. John S. Inskip as a matter for prayer on April 16, 1867. Inskip later recorded in his diary the important points of his meeting with W. B. Osborn: "We knelt together, and in all Godly sincerity, implored divine guidance and help. We prayed, waited, wept, and believed, and the heavenly glory came upon us; and, therefore, it was no longer a question of doubt as to whether a camp meeting for the promotion of holiness should be held." A call signed by thirteen Methodist ministers including John Inskip, was issued through the more prominent Wesleyan church periodicals for an organizational meeting to be held on June 13, 1867, at the Methodist Book Room in Philadelphia.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Hughes, Days Of Power, 37-39.

⁴⁸McDonald and Searles, Life Of Inskip, 185-188.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINCIPLES OF HOLINESS REVIVED, 1865 TO 1880

The meeting called for the specific purpose of organizing a holiness camp convened as scheduled on June 13, 1867, at the Methodist Book Room in Philadelphia. Dr. George C. M. Roberts of Baltimore, Maryland, acted as chairman, and Rev. John Thompson was secretary. Because of the great solemnity of the occasion, each person present was asked to lead individually in prayer before the meeting was called to order. An eyewitness at these proceedings reported that the glory and power of the Holy Spirit was manifested in such a way "as to convince them all that God had taken the affair in His hands, . . ." It was decided, therefore, that a national camp meeting for the promotion of Christian holiness should be held that summer from July 17 to 26 at Vineland, New Jersey.¹

The assemblage convened on schedule and was officially dedicated to the cause of Christian holiness by Rev. Inskip. The meeting was interdenominational in scope and was attended by Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Friends, and Methodist ministers. The spiritual fervency of those in attendance was demonstrated during an early morning "love feast" (testimony meeting) when in approximately two hours as many as 325 persons publicly testified to the "redeeming" and "sanctifying" power of Christ. According to Rev. George Hughes,

¹A. McLean and J. W. Eaton, eds., Penuel; Or Face To Face With God, 8-10. Cited hereafter, McLean and Eaton, eds., Penuel.

a thousand affirmations of faith could have been recorded if more time had been allotted. The convocation ended in "tears, songs, and shouts" of joy when hundreds of people rose to their feet to symbolize their dedication to the cause of Christian holiness. On the last day of the camp, the congregation as a whole voted that a committee should be established to select a proper site for a subsequent national camp to be held on the second Wednesday in July, 1868. During the final evening service "a canopy of celestial glory reportedly covered the encampment" and "no less than fifty people were converted."²

Because of the strong and unanimous support of the people for another national camp meeting, the promoters of the Vineland Gathering met at the close of the final service and formed a permanent association to be known as the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness. It was fittingly organized in a tent with its members kneeling in a circle during the whole proceedings. No new written by-laws were drafted for this organization, but its founders relied on the basic doctrinal statements in the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The official charter members included: John S. Inskip (president), William McDonald (vice president), George Hughes (secretary), James W. Horne, J. E. Cookman, I. R. Dunn, Alfred Cookman, B. M. Adams, William H. Boole, W. L. Gray, G. A. Hubbell, A. McLean, William G. Osborn, James Thompson, S. Coleman, C. C. Wells, G. C. Roberts, W. T. B. Clemm.³

²George Hughes, "The Vineland Encampment," The Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), o.s. LII, September, 1867, 91-93.

³McLean and Eaton, eds., Peneul, Intro., 6-15. On camp grounds where National Meetings were held, its members, as previously arranged, exercised complete control, and, therefore, all non-essential

Bishop Matthew Simpson was the first Methodist episcopal leader to participate in a National Camp Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness. The bishop with his family, attended the Vineland Gathering where his son, Charles, sought and found Christ as his personal Saviour. After the camp ended, the boy returned home where it was discovered a few months later that he was terminally ill. The final words Charles spoke constituted a lasting memorial to the work of the National Association: "Mother, I shall bless God through all eternity for the Vineland Camp Meeting."⁴

The second National Camp Meeting for the Promotion of Christian Holiness was held in the Dutch community of Manheim, Pennsylvania, from July 14 to 23, 1868. One of the most pronounced manifestations of divine power witnessed during this ten-day gathering came when the Rev. Alfred Cookman publicly delivered his spiritual autobiography.

activities on the Sabbath including train travel, gate fees, and any type of sports were forbidden. This was illustrated in 1889 when a National Meeting was scheduled for Ridge View Park, Pennsylvania. Before the meeting commenced, however, it was learned by the officials of the National Association that the local authorities planned to allow trains to stop and to charge gate fees at the camp meeting on the Sabbath. The National Association leaders responded by saying that under such circumstances they were "compelled by every consideration of honor, justice, and religion to recall the appointment, and therefore, no National Camp Meeting was to be held at Ridgeview Park." William McDonald, "Ridgeview Park Camp-Meeting Recalled," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. VII, July 18, 1889, 1; William McDonald, "Ridgeview Park Camp Meeting Recalled," The Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XXIII, July 18, 1889, 9.

⁴ McDonald and Searles, Life Of Inskip, 193; Hughes, Days Of Power, 167-169. Rev. Matthew Simpson (1810-1884) was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the 1852 General Conference. He held that position until his death thirty-two years later. George R. Crooks, The Life Of Bishop Matthew Simpson Of The Methodist Episcopal Church (1890). For a more recent account see Robert C. Clark, Life Of Matthew Simpson, (1956).

As Rev. Cookman spoke "men all over the grounds fell under the mighty power of God," and, according to a newspaper correspondent present, the sounds of spiritual victory rang over the campground through the night.⁵ As a result of such manifestations it was reported on the first Sunday that at least twenty thousand persons along with some three hundred ministers were on the grounds at Manheim. Because of the great interest demonstrated by so many people combined with the large number of religious experiences reported, the leaders of the National Association scheduled a third camp meeting for the following summer specifically to promote Christian holiness.⁶

The Troy Conference Camp Ground near Round Lake, New York, housed the third National Camp from July 6 to 16, 1869. This site was located on the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad Line about mid-way between Troy and Saratoga Springs, New York. Again Bishop Simpson

⁵E. W. Kirby and Adam Wallace, "Manheim! The Great National Camp Meeting," The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia), 11, July 25, 1868, 232-237; E. W. Kirby and Adam Wallace, "The Great National Camp Meeting Closing Experiences," Ibid., August 1, 1868, 243, 244; E. W. Kirby, "A Scene At The National Camp," Ibid., August 22, 1868, 265; Henry Bascom Ridgeway, The Life Of Rev. Alfred Cookman, 351. Alfred Cookman (1828-1871) one of those who signed the call for a meeting to be held in Philadelphia for the purpose of organizing the Vineland Camp Meeting, faithfully attended all the subsequent National Camp Meetings until his death. The last business meeting in which Cookman participated was in October, 1871, after which he returned to Ocean Grove where his health progressively deteriorated. On November 13, 1871, Rev. Cookman departed this life with a stirring eulogy to the redemptive and sanctifying power of Christ: "Everything is so quiet and peaceful. All is well. Jesus is coming closer and closer, I am sweeping through the gates washed in the blood of the lamb." Bishop Randolph Foster stated that Cookman was the most sacred man he had ever known in his thirty year episcopacy. Ibid. See William McDonald, Life Sketches of Rev. Alfred Cookman.

⁶"The Great National Camp Meeting [Manheim]," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LIV, September, 1868, 81-91.

attended with ten to twelve presiding elders and some five to seven hundred ministers. Approximately eight hundred tents were set in an orderly fashion along broad, well-defined avenues which gave the tent community the appearance of a small city.⁷ Dr. Dallas D. Lore, editor of the Northern Christian Advocate when reporting his impressions of the Round Lake Gathering said:

The religious character of the National Camp Meeting just closed was all that a Christian could desire. It is professedly a one-idea meeting; but that idea is a great and grand one--holiness to the Lord. Purity of heart, the cleansing power of the atonement, sanctification of body, soul and spirit, were set forth as the privilege and duty of all, and urged with a true Christian spirit.⁸

Another holiness association patterned after the National Group was organized in 1869 at Ocean Grove, New Jersey. The primary difference between the Ocean Grove and the National Association was that the latter did not use the same camp ground each year. On the other hand, the people at Ocean Grove purchased lots and built permanent cabins on their own 230 acre seaside camp ground. The purpose of the Ocean Grove Association was to further Christian perfection and at

⁷George Hughes, "National Camp Meeting," Ibid., o.s. LV, April, 1869, 117-119; George Hughes, "Third National Camp Meeting At Round Lake, N.Y. July 6th to 16th," Ibid., June, 1869, Supplement, 1-4. Each church was urged to bring its own prayer tent and to be prepared to pay one cent per square foot for ground. Any church not owning its own tent could rent one by giving advance notice. Tents plus furnishings rented at a median cost (medium tent - \$7.00, double bed - \$1.50, wash pan and stand - \$1.00 and looking glass - \$.50). Ibid.

⁸Dallas D. Lore, "National Camp Meeting," Northern Christian Advocate (Auburn, New York), XXIX, July 1, 1869, 205; Ibid., July 15, 1869, 220; Ibid., July 22, 1869, 228, 229; Hughes, Days Of Power, 722. Dr. Henry Ridgaway said that "no society [National Camp Meeting Association] was ever more in accord with primitive Christian custom as to its origin and organization, or could be more simple and exact in its aim or more thoroughly Catholic in its animating Spirit." Ridgaway, Life Of Cookman, 324.

Figure 2



W. C. PALMER,
(Deceased).



WM. McDONALD.
(Deceased).



JOHN S. INSKIP,
(Deceased).



GEORGE HUGHES.
Orange, N. J.



C. J. FOWLER.
Haverhill, Mass.



B. CARRADINE.
St. Louis, Mo.



ISAIAH REID.
Des Moines, Iowa.



DANIEL STEELE.
Milton, Mass.



JOHN M. PIKE,
Atlanta, Ga.



E. F. WALKER,
Greencastle, Ind.



C. B. JERNIGAN,
Greenville, Texas.



JOHN P. BROOKS,
Ft. Scott, Kan.



C. W. RUTH.
Indianapolis, Ind.



BUD ROBINSON.
Greenville, Texas.



W. B. GODBEY.
Perryville, Ky.



S. B. SHAW,
Chicago, Ill.



BISHOP WM. TAYLOR,
Palo Alto, Calif.



J. A. WOOD.
Pasadena, Cal.



W. B. OSBORN.
New York, N. Y.



MRS. L. D. OSBORN.
New York, N. Y.

the same time furnish Christian families with a retreat just five hundred yards from the sea. No individual could buy more than two (thirty by sixty) lots at a cost of fifty dollars each. Such a rule was enacted, according to the founders, to curtail speculation which they asserted, was contrary to the whole purpose of the camp meeting.⁹

The New Jersey Legislature granted a charter to the Ocean Grove Association on March 3, 1870, describing it as a "permanent camp meeting ground and seaside resort." This is not to say that Ocean Grove resembled other ocean-front amusement areas, because the officials of the association meticulously planned the religious activities of each day. There generally was a prayer meeting scheduled before breakfast, a testimony or experience meeting at mid-morning, and preaching services before and after lunch in the evening. In addition to a rigidly structured day, no activities condemned as immoral in the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, such as drinking, using tobacco, dancing, cursing, and card-playing were allowed.

⁹ Ellwood H. Stokes, comp., Ocean Grove, Its Origin And Progress, The Annual Reports Presented By The President, To Which Are Added Other Papers Of Interest, Including List Of Lot-Holders, Charter, By-Laws, 9-11, 14-16. Cited hereafter, Stokes, Ocean Grove Origins. The most lasting contribution of William B. Osborn (1832-1902) to the cause of Christ was his work for the propagation of heart purity. He was responsible for helping to establish three holiness camp meeting associations--The National Association in 1867, Ocean Grove Association in 1869, and the International Association near Niagara Falls in 1884. Osborn entered the ministry at the age of twenty-five as a member of the New Jersey Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1875 he went to India as a missionary. While there he simultaneously filled the position as presiding elder for both the Bombay and Madras districts which covered a geographical area of fifteen hundred miles long and seven to eight hundred miles wide. James M. Buckley, "The Rev. W. B. Osborn [Obituary]," Christian Advocate (New York), LXXVII, September 18, 1902, 1489.

According to an 1883 article in the New York Sun, such strictness, at least in part, contributed to the spiritual success and beauty of the Ocean Grove Camp.¹⁰

The success and popularity of these assemblages were evidenced in the fact that at any one time from May 15 to October 30 as many as ten thousand people of all major Protestant denominations were on the grounds. In 1881 the Guide To Holiness reported that approximately fifteen hundred participated in a sacramental meeting held at Ocean Grove, at the same ten-day meeting some five hundred confessed conversion, three hundred sanctification, and seventeen hundred said they were benefited spiritually by attending the services.¹¹ At the close of such assemblages those in the congregation were often invited by the association president, Dr. Ellwood H. Stokes, to shake hands with their "neighbors" and according to the editor of the Ocean Grove Record, "the scene was one that beggared description. The quiet Quaker, the staid Episcopalian, the opinionated Baptist, the rigid Presbyterian, the solid Lutheran, the noisy Methodist, were one

¹⁰Morris S. Daniels, The Story Of Ocean Grove, Related in the Year of its Golden Jubilee, 34-36; Simpson Methodism, 162.

¹¹"In The Groves," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXVIII, October, 1881, 120. The reports indicated by these figures pertaining to the work at Ocean Grove as reported in Wesleyan periodicals such as the Guide were not the exception but rather the rule year after year. For these reports see "Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and "In The Groves, Ocean Grove," Ibid., n.s. XII, March, 1870, 99; "Camp-Meetings, Ocean Grove," Ibid., o.s. LX, September, 1871, 94; George Hughes, "Services At Ocean Grove, 1879," Ibid., n.s. XXXI, October, 1879, 116-119; George Hughes, "God Among His People," Ibid., XXVII, October, 1882, 122; George Hughes, "The Home Field, Ocean Grove," Ibid., o.s. LXXIV, October, 1884, 121; George Hughes, "The Harvest Field, Ocean Grove," Ibid., o.s. LXXVI, October, 1885, 124; George Hughes, "Our Camp-Meeting Tour, Ocean Grove," Ibid., LXXX, October, 1887, 315.

according to our Lord's prayer. As Bro. Inskip would say: 'You couldn't tell which from t'other.'¹²

Such protracted meetings were held by varied interest groups which among others included the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the regularly scheduled annual camp meeting of the Ocean Grove Association. Accommodations for those who attended these gatherings included hotels, cottages, and tents. Hotel costs varied from ten to fifteen dollars per week, and cottages were eight to twelve dollars per week. Individuals who wanted to rent one of the six hundred tents belonging to the association and eat at the camp cafeteria could get by on as little as a dollar per day for both board and room.¹³

However, as early as 1870 the physical facilities at Ocean Grove were largely underdeveloped. "Great sand heaps, stubby trees, and tangled briars were in abundance." The first auditorium where religious services were held was nothing more than a few pine trees with a canvas tabernacle nearby for shelter in case of rainstorms.¹⁴ One of the first improvements made was the laying of road beds for the

¹²Adam Wallace, "The Annual Love-Feast," Ocean Grove Record (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), VIII, August 26, 1882, 1. The Central Christian Advocate, an official Methodist periodical, also vividly reported this meeting. W. B. Hardman, "Six Thousand At A Love Feast," Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVI, September 27, 1882, 315.

¹³"Ocean Grove," Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), LII, June 14, 1877, 373; Ellwood H. Stokes, "Ocean Grove: The Christian Seaside Resort," Ocean Grove A Record Of Religion And Recreation, (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), II, July 8, 1876, 305.

¹⁴"Letter From Dr. Levy. Ocean Grove, N. J. June 23, 1894," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, July 5, 1894, 12.

streets. Main Avenue ran from the Turnpike to the sea (west to east) and was some sixty feet wide. Ocean Avenue paralleled the sea for approximately fifteen hundred feet and like all the other roadways at Ocean Grove, had gravel sidewalks on either side.¹⁵

¹⁵Stokes, Ocean Grove Origins, 16. Important facts to be remembered about the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association by Dr. Stokes:

- (1) "Cottages, erected by private individuals, in considerable numbers, can usually be rented for the season.
- (2) Stages for Ocean Grove connect at Long Branch and Squan, with all trains, until such times as the Rail Road shall be completed, when passengers will be landed a few hundred yards from the Camp-Meeting circle.
- (3) Every thing needed by house-keepers, either in furniture, provisions, or country produce, can be purchased at Ocean Grove as cheaply as elsewhere, without the trouble and cost of transportation.
- (4) The water at Ocean Grove is superior, and inexhaustible.
- (5) Lots at Ocean Grove are leased for 99 years, subject to renewal without expense, if conditions are complied with.
- (6) Lots are sold to Ministers at reduced rates.
- (7) All the proceeds from the sale of lots, and other incomes at Ocean Grove are devoted to the payment of lands, and the improvement of the same. The individual members of the Association receive no benefit whatever.
- (8) Lots can not be occupied for purposes other than as Summer residences without the written consent of the Association.
- (9) Lots can not be transferred from one party to another without the written approval of the Association.
- (10) Cottages can not be occupied longer than from the 15th of May to the last of October, without the written consent of the Association.
- (11) Boating and bathing are prohibited during the hours of public worship, through the ten days allotted to the Camp-meeting.
- (12) Boating and bathing are prohibited at all hours on all

As the years passed one change after another was made until the camp resembled a well developed community with broad avenues and parks, plenty of water, and two fresh water lakes which bounded the camp ground on the north and south. A new auditorium 225 by 61 feet was dedicated in July, 1894, and cost approximately sixty thousand dollars. It was designed to accommodate ten thousand people comfortably, and according to Dr. E. H. Stokes, the acoustics of the structure were such "that a pin dropped at one end of the building could be heard at the other end."¹⁶

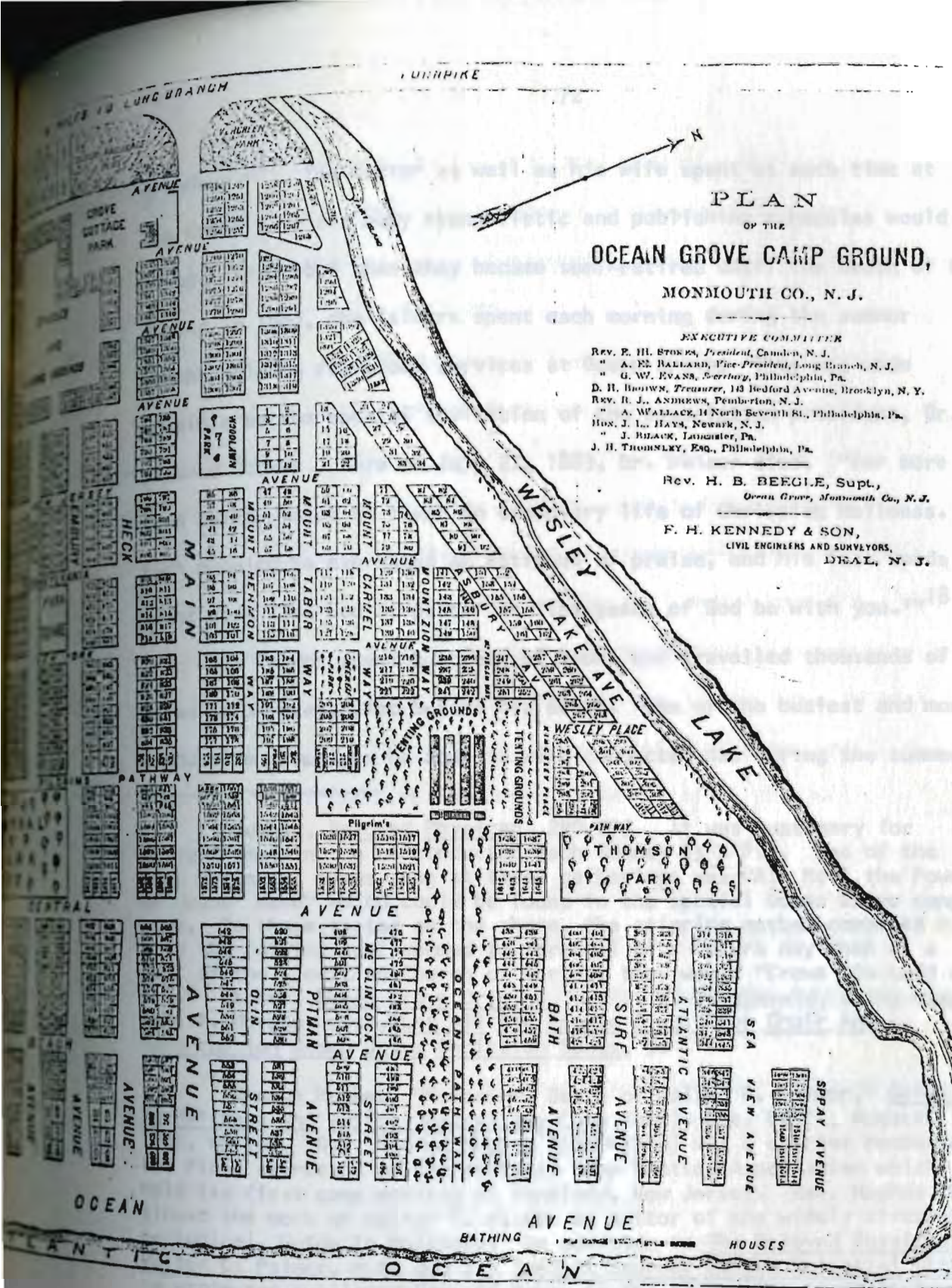
Some of the wealthier and more influential people who owned property at Ocean Grove including Walter C. Palmer, built large homes. The summer home of the Palmers was situated on Ocean Avenue where from the upper piazza on warm summer evenings they could sit and observe the immense "surf meetings" of some ten thousand people. According to those present it seemed the "voices of praise, prayer, and testimony wafted by ocean breezes, told of scenes of moral

Sabbath days.

(13) The gates at Ocean Grove are kept open on Saturday nights until 11 o'clock, up to which time all are welcome. They are then closed until Monday morning.

(14) When the Sabbath dawns, stillness prevails except for the occasional sound of sacred songs blended with fervent prayer. You hear no clatter of wheels, no loud conversation: you feel in your very soul a spirit of repose. This is a real Sabbath." Ibid., 7, 67.

¹⁶"Letter From Dr. Levy, Ocean Grove, N. J. June 23, 1894," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, July 5, 1894, 12. For comments made during the dedication service see Ellwood H. Stokes, "Greetings From President Stokes [Auditorium Dedication]," Ocean Grove Record (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), XX, July 7, 1894, 1, 2.



PLAN OF THE OCEAN GROVE CAMP GROUND, MONMOUTH CO., N. J.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Rev. E. H. STOKES, President, Camden, N. J.
 " A. E. BALLARD, Vice-President, Long Branch, N. J.
 " G. W. EVANS, Secretary, Philadelphia, Pa.
 D. H. BROWN, Treasurer, 143 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Rev. R. J. ANDREWS, Pemberton, N. J.
 " A. WALLACE, 14 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hon. J. L. HAYS, Newark, N. J.
 " J. BLACK, Lancaster, Pa.
 J. H. THOMPKIN, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. H. B. BEEGLIE, Supt.,
 Ocean Grove, Monmouth Co., N. J.

F. H. KENNEDY & SON,
 CIVIL ENGINEERS AND SURVEYORS,
 LYDIAL, N. J.

grandeur."¹⁷ The doctor as well as his wife spent as much time at the Grove as their busy evangelistic and publishing schedules would allow. From 1878 when they became semi-retired until the death of the doctor in 1883, the Palmers spent each morning during the summer months holding religious services at Ocean Grove. This was made possible by the special invitation of the association president, Dr. Ellwood Stokes. Here on July 22, 1883, Dr. Palmer died. "For more than thirty years he lived an exemplary life of Christian holiness. Each morning he expressed an attitude of praise, and his last words at night were 'The God of peace' or 'The peace of God be with you.'"¹⁸

Dr. Palmer spent hundreds of hours and travelled thousands of miles as an evangelist before his death. One of the busiest and most productive campaigns he and his wife conducted was during the summer

¹⁷Hughes, Beloved Physican, 290-293. It was customary for a "surf" meeting to be conducted each Sunday at 6 P.M. One of the most requested hymns sung at these gatherings was "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name" which could be found in the special Ocean Grove song book. To those seated on the shore, the stirring anthem combined with the rolling surf seemed to foretell of a future day when as a part of the glorified Church of Christ, they would "Crown Him Lord of all." Stokes, Ocean Grove Origins, 67; J. N. Fitzgerald, C. H. Yatman, Tali E. Morgan, eds., Let All The People Sing. For Choir And Congregation Ocean Grove Christian Songs, 3.

¹⁸George Hughes, "Memorium, Death of Walter C. Palmer," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXII, August, 1883, 65-100. Rev. George Hughes (1828-1904) was a charter member and the first secretary of the National Camp Meeting Association which held its first camp meeting at Vineland, New Jersey. Rev. Hughes continued the work of Walter C. Palmer as editor of the widely circulated periodical, Guide To Holiness. In addition to The Beloved Physican, Walter C. Palmer, M.D. and His Sun-Lit Journey to the Celestial City; he wrote and published Days Of Power In The Forest Temple, A Review Of The Wonderful Work Of God At Fourteen National Camp-Meetings From 1867 To 1872; Fragrant Memories Of The Tuesday Meetings And The Guide To Holiness And Their Fifty Years' Work For Jesus. Several of his sermons have been published, and their main theme was always Bible holiness. Who's Who In America (1897-1942), 500.

of 1870 when they travelled all over the United States holding meetings in such widely separated places as Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Red Rock, Minnesota; Kansas City, Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Oswego, Kansas; and Sacramento, California.¹⁹

The stay of the Palmers at the Oswego District Camp Meeting proved profitable. This meeting lasted from July 26 to August 4 and was held near the terminus of the Southern branch of the Pacific Railroad about one mile from Oswego. Approximately fifty ministers including Dr. and Mrs. Palmer, attended the camp conducted especially for the promotion of Bible holiness. People from all over the district were on the grounds where it was reported that fifty individuals received conversion and another fifty sanctification. Because of such great and almost unexpected success, the services were continued in the local Methodist Church at Oswego after the scheduled ten-day camp ended. While the Palmers were at Oswego, they also helped to organize a weekly Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Christian holiness patterned after the one they conducted in their own home.²⁰

The encouraging results reported at the camp meeting along with the continued interest stimulated by extra-ecclesiastical assemblages (Oswego Tuesday Meetings) caused the supporters of Christian holiness

¹⁹Richard Wheatley, The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, 436.

²⁰J. R. Jaques, "Camp Meeting Of The Oswego District, Kansas Conference," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XIII, September, 1870, 88, 125. Preachers in attendance at the Oswego Camp included among others Rev. Harden Wallace who was destined to play a prominent role in the establishment of the holiness work in Texas and later in Arizona and southern California. Ibid.

in southeastern Kansas to hold another camp meeting during the last of August, 1870. Those present at this gathering reported that "hundreds were brought to Jesus and the work of holiness progressed with power." The Rev. Isaac Tharp described the meeting enthusiastically: "I never enjoyed such a meeting in my life, and never witnessed such power. There were about one hundred converted and a few professed sanctification. Souls were born strong--born shouting--born clear."²¹

Dr. and Mrs. Palmer were not the only Wesleyan evangelists conducting protracted meetings during the early 1870s in the mid-and-far Western states. The Revs. John Inskip and William McDonald accompanied Bishop Edward R. Ames as he made his official visitation to different annual conferences during March, 1871, in the states of Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. After reaching St. Louis on March 7, these men first attended the St. Louis Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. "Holiness of heart" was the main theme of the services, and it was reported that "nearly the whole conference went to the altar seeking the 'baptism of fire.'"²²

²¹"Jacksonville, Kansas; Southern Kansas," Ibid., December, 1870, 186, 187.

²²William McDonald and John S. Inskip, "The Work Begun," "Evangelism," "Our Plans," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. 11, April, 1871, 162, 163; John S. Inskip, "Western Evangelistic Tour Letter From Brother Inskip," Ibid., June, 1871, 189. Inskip and McDonald were the first members of the National Camp Meeting Association to leave their pastorates to become full time evangelists. William McDonald, "Evangelists," Ibid., March, 1871, 146.

John S. Inskip (1816-1884) entered the ministry as a member of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church May, 1835. Rev. Inskip filled relatively unimportant pulpits until he was transferred to the New York Conference. While a member of that body, he pastored the Madison Street, Fleet Street, Cherry Street, and Ninth Street Methodist Churches in New York City where between 1852 and 1861 some twelve hundred persons confessed conversion. In 1867 as a result of the active part he played in the formation of the

The next stop on the tour was Paola, Kansas, where the Kansas Annual Conference was held. A resolution passed on March 17, by that body of Methodist ministers, invited "Inskip and his co-laborers to hold two National Camp Meetings near the city on August 25 and the other about September 25." The last annual conference attended on this tour convened in Lincoln, Nebraska. Here Rev. Inskip by special invitation of the conference took charge of the "morning meetings and all other religious exercises."²³

When the conference ended, Evangelists McDonald and Inskip in company with Bishop Ames left for Omaha. By previous arrangement, they joined another contingent of holiness preachers travelling west to California. This group included: Revs. William H. Boole, William Osborn, and S. Coleman--all members of the National Association--together with Revs. John E. Searles of the New York East Conference,

National Camp Meeting Association, Inskip was elected the first president of that body. He presided at fifty-four National Camp Meetings prior to his death in 1884. William McDonald, "John S. Inskip Is Dead," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. 11, March 20, 1884, 4.

William McDonald (1820-1901) was a charter member of the National Camp Meeting Association and served as its first vice president until the death of Inskip at which time he became president of the Association. He served as the first editor of the Advocate Of Christian Holiness, a position he held until 1884 except for a brief six month period during 1874 when Inskip acted as editor. McDonald initiated a title change in 1883 for the periodical to The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness. In 1891 he began to promote an organization called The General Holiness League and at the same time he was co-owner of McDonald and Gill Publishing Company of Boston. Who's Who In America (1897-1942), 809.

²³John S. Inskip, "Western Evangelistic Tour Letter From Brother Inskip," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. 11, June, 1871, 176-190. The officials of the National Association did not return to Kansas to hold a camp meeting for the promotion of Bible holiness until June, 1879. William McDonald, "38th National Camp Meeting Bismarck Grove," Ibid., XI, August, 1879, 188, 189.

Stratton of the New York Conference, and Dwight L. Moody of Chicago. They departed from Omaha on the tenth and arrived in San Francisco on April 14, 1871. The first series of meetings commenced on April 22 in Sacramento, California. The new tabernacle of the National Association was pitched on the plaza near the center of the city.²⁴ This 90 by 130 foot tent had been purchased for a little over fifteen hundred dollars.²⁵

Reports published in the monthly periodical of the National Camp Meeting Association revealed that the average Californian encountered by the evangelists was a much rougher breed of individual than they customarily confronted in camp meetings on the East coast. A letter from the editor, William McDonald, stated that "indifference regarding spiritual Christianity prevails to an alarming extent." He further reported that the "roughs of the city of Sacramento were in the tabernacle from the first, and gave evidence of their character; but God's presence rested upon the Assembly." Many of the older men and women who attended these meetings praised God "With tear filled eyes" for the services "which brought memories of other days."²⁶ The California

²⁴William McDonald, "Letter From The Editor, The Work In California," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, June, 1871, 190, 191. Prior to 1894 membership in the National Association was limited to official members in good standing of the Methodist Church, but all camp meetings were open to all Protestant denominations. Charles Edwin Jones, "Perfectionist Persuasion: A Social Profile Of The National Holiness Movement Within American Methodism 1867-1926," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1968), 150.

²⁵Henry C. Benson, "Tabernacle Meeting in Sacramento," California Christian Advocate (San Francisco), XX, May 10, 1871, 4. John S. Inskip, "The Tabernacle," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XII, June, 1870, 189.

²⁶William McDonald, "Letter From The Editor, The Work In

Christian Advocate enthusiastically reported that some "three to four hundred people were converted and nearly double that number were sanctified." The editor of the Advocate commented on the spiritual effect of the Sacramento meeting:

Never in the history of California has so remarkable a meeting been held. Never have we seen such displays of divine power in the awakening and conversions of sinners. Men and women who have not been in church for twelve or fifteen years have found the pearl of great price. Slaves to rum and opium, and tobacco, have been thoroughly saved, though the chains had been on them for eighteen years. Men of affluence have found their way to the Cross.²⁷

Rev. Inskip and his workers also pitched their tabernacle at Santa Clara and San Francisco. Here hundreds of people were brought face to face with the redeeming and sanctifying influence of Christ. By the last night of scheduled meetings in California interest was running so high among the people that "thousands were unable to gain

California," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, June, 1871, 190, 191. The need for a periodical to keep the supporters of Bible holiness informed about the proposed National Camp Meetings and their results was first voiced in Philadelphia at the 1869 annual business meeting of the Association. Hence, the members of the Association voted to publish a magazine called Advocate Of Christian Holiness which first appeared in July, 1870. A Boston printer, John Bent, financed the enterprise in return for any profit realized the first year. Rev. William McDonald acted as editor with the Revs. George Hughes and William H. Boole as assistant editors. From its inception the magazine cost fifty cents per year, and by the end of the first twelve-months of publication it had grown to some eight thousand subscribers. John S. Inskip, "The New Volume," Ibid., IX, January, 1877, 19, 20. For a contemporary view of the development of the Advocate from 1870 to 1894, see William McDonald, "Future Of Our Advocate," Ibid., II, April, 1871, 162, 163; John S. Inskip, "Publishers Notice," Ibid., VII, November, 1876, 315; William McDonald, "The Eleventh Volume," Ibid., XI, January, 1879, 16, 17; John S. Inskip, "Publishers Notice," Ibid., XI, May, 1879, 114; and William McDonald, "Enlargement Of The Witness," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, January 4, 1894, 1.

²⁷Henry C. Benson, "Tabernacle Meeting In Sacramento," California Christian Advocate (San Francisco), XX, May 10, 1871, 4.

admittance into the tabernacle.²⁸

Rev. Inskip and company next journeyed east to Salt Lake City, Utah, for two weeks of religious meetings. This city constituted "one of the most cosmopolitan-like centers in the United States." Besides being world headquarters for the Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormons), the city was also recognized as the leading mining center of the West. Thousands of migrants crowded its streets from as far away as Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado.²⁹

The results reported by the Methodist evangelists while in Salt Lake City were not as outstanding as those in California, although several conversions were witnessed among the predominantly Mormon congregation. Even one of the wives of Bishop Hunter professed Christ "resolving to assume her maiden name, and, thereby wash her hands completely of Mormonism." In addition, the wife and daughter of Orson Pratt, one of the most capable supporters of the Mormon faith, "embraced religion."³⁰ Rev. Talmage in The Christian at Work maintained that the results of the Salt Lake City Tabernacle Meeting put the Mormon leaders on the defensive. He wrote:

²⁸Proceedings Of Holiness Conferences Held At Cincinnati, November 26th, 1877, And At New York, December 17th, 1877, 126, 127. Cited hereafter, Proceedings Of Holiness Conferences, 1877. For a contemporary account of an experience received during the San Francisco Meeting see Edward Franklin Walker Diary, June, 1871, 4-6; Edward Franklin Walker Papers, Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri.

²⁹G. M. Pierce, "Camp Meeting At Salt Lake City," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LIX, May, 1871, 159, 160.

³⁰Proceedings Of Holiness Conferences, 1877, 129-132.

We found the track of the Methodist tent all the way across the Continent. Mormonism never received such a shot as when, with Brigham Young and his elders present in the tent, the party of wide-awake Methodist ministers preached righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come in great Salt Lake City. The effect of those few days of faithful talking will never be forgotten. Hardly a service is held in the Mormon tabernacle that an effort is not made to combat the sermons of the itinerants.³¹

All the members of the National Association were greatly encouraged by the results of the West Coast and Salt Lake City convocations conducted by Inskip and McDonald. As a result of this success those attending the annual business meeting of the National Association in October, 1871, voted to hold six camp meetings during the following summer. Oak Corner (June 13) and Sea Cliff Grove, New York (July 3); Richmond, Maine (July 24); Urbana, Ohio (August 8); Williamsville, Illinois (August 21); and some place in the South were chosen from a list of thirteen invitations received from officials of various Methodist camp grounds.³²

A site near Knoxville, Tennessee, was selected for the last National Camp Meeting of the 1872 season and the first assemblage by the Association to be held south of the Mason-Dixon line. The ingathering commenced on September 25, with much suspicion on the part of the local residents about the motives of the Northern evangelists. Locally it was theorized that any organization with the word national in its title of necessity had some connection with the federal government, and its members had probably been sent into the South to spy on the people. The leaders of the Church, South, also looked upon

³¹ Ridgaway, Life Of Cookman, 425.

³² Hughes, Days Of Power, 80

this endeavor as an encroachment on their rightful geographical and ecclesiastical domain.³³

The local people and their leaders realized after the convocation had been in progress a few days that the only reason the six members of the National Association were in Knoxville was to lead souls to Christ and preach the doctrine of "entire sanctification" advocated by Wesley. Popular acceptance of this attitude was evidenced during a "love feast" held on the second Sunday of the meeting. Over a hundred people testified that they had received the gift of the Holy Spirit since the camp had begun, and at least twenty ministers of the Holston Tennessee Annual Conference embraced the doctrine of "perfect love." The overwhelming consensus among the five thousand people who attended this gathering was "that the meetings had accomplished much good."³⁴

The work of the National Association steadily progressed as the members entered one new area of the country after another. Between

³³George Hughes, "Annual Meeting of the Association," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, December, 1871, 117. The reason for such apprehension on the part of the Southern Methodists dated back to the closing years of the Civil War. During those hectic days as many as twenty-one so called missionaries were sent by the Northern church into the federally occupied South, and these men confiscated property belonging to the Southern Church. This was made possible when Secretary of War, Edward M. Stanton, under authority granted by President Lincoln, as early as November, 1862, granted the bishops of the Northern church the right to appoint ministers and fill any vacant pastoral positions in the territory occupied by federal troops. Journal of the General Conference, 1864, 278, 279; "Future of Southern Methodism," Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), XLI, February 22, 1866, 60.

³⁴William T. Harlow, "Fourteenth National Camp-Meeting At Knoxville, Tenn.," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. III, November, 1872, 108-110.

1870 and 1880 National Camp and Tabernacle Meetings were held in nineteen different states. Widespread popular interest in the movement combined with a desire to spread the Gospel caused Inskip, McDonald, and Wood to also undertake an around-the-world tour as advocates of the doctrine of Christian perfection as taught by Wesley.³⁵

This trio, accompanied by their wives, left New York City for Liverpool, England, on June 26, 1880. After they reached England they spent approximately a hundred days holding no less than eighty religious services where the main theme was, as usual, Bible holiness. On October 19 the ministers left Liverpool and on November 16 arrived by (fast) steamer in Bombay, India, where they joined forces with the Revs. William Osborn and William Taylor.³⁶ Osborn had been in India since 1875, while Taylor had been there since 1870. Taylor had previously taught Christian holiness as a street-preacher in San Francisco during the gold rush years after which he extensively transversed the North and South American Continents, England, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and India. At the General Conference of 1884 held

³⁵ William B. Osborn, Intro., The Double Cure Or Echoes From National Camp-Meetings, 5-8. For a week to week account of the around-the world tour see John S. Inskip, "Around The World Tour," Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XIV, July 3, 1880 to XV, April, 23, 1881.

³⁶ John Allen Wood, Autobiography of Rev. J. A. Wood, 101. Cited hereafter, Wood, Autobiography. Rev. John Allen Wood (1832- ?), as a strong believer in entire sanctification, began his ministry in the Susquehanna County Pennsylvania Conference. His first book, Perfect Love sold between fifty and sixty thousand copies and was published in England by three publishing houses. His other works included: Purity and Maturity; Wesley on Christian Perfection, and Sunset Echoes. He excelled in revival work which led him to establish the Vineland Holiness Meetings. In 1867 Wood began to devote his entire time to evangelistic work which he continued for twenty-four years. Ibid.

in Baltimore, Maryland, his colleagues bestowed upon Taylor the ultimate ecclesiastical honor by electing him the first Missionary Bishop of the Methodist Church.³⁷

While in Bombay, Poona, Cawnpoor, Lucknow, Bereilly, and Jubapoor, India; these evangelists used the large tabernacle belonging to the National Association. Since the meetings were conducted in English, the majority attending the services were either British soldiers or Eurasians and natives who understood English. When the work was finished in India, the members of the party decided to divide forces. Inskip accompanied by Osborn, journeyed homeward by way of Ceylon, Australia, and then California; while McDonald and Wood returned to England through the Middle East and Rome. During 1880 these world travellers for Christ journeyed some six thousand miles by rail and spent eighty-two days at sea on nine different ships.³⁸

While enroute to the United States, Rev. Osborn and his wife decided to initiate a camp meeting for returning missionaries. Wesley Park within view of Niagara Falls was the site selected. From the annual gatherings held there arose the International Missionary Union which specialized in promoting Christian perfection in foreign lands in much the same way as the National Camp Meeting Association did in

³⁷James M. Buckley, "The Rev. W. B. Osborn [Obituary]," Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), LXXVII, September 18, 1902, 1489; "William Taylor And His Continental Diocese," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, April 17, 1885, 1. For a more complete account of Bishop Taylor see his autobiography, William Taylor, William Taylor of California, Bishop of Africa; An Autobiography.

³⁸Wood, Autobiography, 102-105.

the United States.³⁹

One of the most important meetings conducted under the auspices of the National Camp Meeting Association was held in northeastern Kansas during the summer prior to the around-the-world evangelistic tour of Inskip, McDonald, and Wood. Bismarck Grove, the site of the Thirty-Eighth National was located forty miles west of Kansas City on the Kansas Pacific Railroad two miles from Lawrence, Kansas. The meeting commenced on June 24 and ended July 4, 1879.⁴⁰ Revs. Inskip, McDonald, McLean, Simmons, Jones, Watson, Henderson, Laub, and Scheutz were the members of the National Association present along with a large group of holiness people from Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and even Texas.⁴¹

³⁹ Jones, "Perfectionist Persuasion," 156-159. For primary source accounts of the International Camps see "International Camp Meetings [Niagara Falls]," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXIV, July, 1884, 28; Ibid., August, 1884, 59; Ibid., October, 1884, 123; "Niagara Falls," Ibid., LXXV, February, 1885, 59; "Niagara Falls International Camp Ground," Ibid., LXXVI, July, 1885, 29.

⁴⁰ The Thirty-Eighth National Camp Meeting For The Promotion Of Holiness Will Be Held At Bismarck Grove On The Line of The Kansas Pacific Railway, Near the City of Lawrence, Commencing June 24, 1879; Closing July 4, 1879 (Handbill printed by Kansas Tribune, Lawrence, n.p.). Many conveniences were afforded those attending Bismarck Grove such as groceries and fresh meats delivered daily, excellent railroad connections, hacks to and from the ground, a postoffice, and a well stocked book store. Meals could be obtained at a cost of forty cents for dinner and twenty-five cents for breakfast or lunch. Tents rented for fifty cents to a dollar a day, while a gate fee of ten cents a day was charged. No fees were charged on Sunday and no offerings were taken during any of the services. Ibid.

⁴¹ "38th National Camp Meeting," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, August, 1879, 188-190. For a full account by John Inskip of the Bismarck Grove Meeting see John Inskip, "Editorial Correspondence [Bismarck Grove]," Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XIII, July 12, 1879, 220; S. P. Jacobs, "The Closing At Bismarck Grove," Ibid., July 19, 1879, 229. Established Methodism also used the Bismarck Grove facilities for their annual summer gatherings. J. E. Gilbert and John D. Knox, "Church

Those attending the Bismarck Grove Meeting agreed that the services were marked by an evident manifestation of the power of God. At least twenty ministers in addition to two hundred lay people professed entire sanctification, and fifty conversions were reported.⁴² Of such meetings Dr. Reed, editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate wrote: "God poured out his spirit and the results were that many souls from almost every mid western state were brought to the feet of Jesus." Another report in the Christian Standard And Home Journal confirmed the statement of Dr. Reed by saying: "The whole West is in a blaze of full salvation. I have heard from several places that the ministers have gone from the National Camp Meetings covered with sanctifying power, and whole churches are at the altar seeking holiness."⁴³

A new interdenominational holiness association was organized at the 1879 Bismarck Grove Meeting called the Southwestern Holiness Association. The majority of its members were Methodists, mainly from Missouri. This organization had approximately 185 members by 1882 and was constantly spreading its sphere of influence into the surrounding

Encampment," Kansas Methodist (Topeka, Kansas), 11, May, 1879, 36; 111, July, 1880, 7; "Kansas State Camp Meeting Of The M. E. Church," Ibid., V, July 7, 1881, 5.

⁴²Ibid. At the regularly scheduled "love feasts" on both Sundays of the camp, the association leaders ask those in the congregation to limit their testimonies to only a few words. This practice allowed a greater number of people to witness for Christ and was generally observed at all meetings conducted by the National Association. This affirmation of faith was typical: "I can say that I have the victory through the blood of the Lamb." "The Thirty-Eighth National Camp Meeting," Lawrence (Kansas) Standard, July 2, 1879, 4, 5.

⁴³McDonald and Searles, Life Of Inskip, 210, 211.

areas of eastern Kansas, southern Iowa, and southern Missouri. At its inception, the members of this new association had no intention of severing themselves from the established church. This point was clearly made in a resolution drafted and passed in October, 1880: "We are each and all members of some Christian church and as such have not and do not intend to sever our connections with such churches, but simply [want] to promote in our several communions and in the world at large the doctrine, experience and life of scriptural holiness."⁴⁴

The members of the Southwestern Holiness Association as well as almost all other holiness people became increasingly subjected to severe criticism by the early 1880s because they, for the sake of their conscience, refused to adapt to a changing world. Urbanism, industrialism, and technology outside the church combined with Darwinism, higher criticism, and a progressive trend toward formalistic worship within the church were stridently opposed by those who supported the doctrine of Christian holiness. As these isms became more and more prominent, many holiness people, especially those living in Missouri came to the conclusion that their only recourse was to leave the established church and start new ecclesiastical organizations dedicated to the spreading of scriptural holiness.⁴⁵

As a result, six of the leading ministers of the Southwestern

⁴⁴Clarence Eugene Cowen, "A History Of The Church Of God (Holiness)," Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1948), 18, 19. Cited hereafter, Cowen, "Church Of God (Holiness)."

⁴⁵Jones, "Perfectionist Persuasion," 100.

Holiness Association met in March, 1882, in Macon County, Missouri, to discuss the possibility of separating themselves from the authoritative control of the organized church. In June the Southwestern Holiness Association met in Centralia, Missouri, and adopted a charter to form independent Holiness Churches. By this action the association effectively severed its affiliation with the established church.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Cowen, "Church Of God (Holiness)," 20-27.

CHAPTER V

CONFLICT OVER HOLINESS ASSOCIATIONS 1880 TO 1865

The formation of an independent holiness church at Centralia, Missouri, in 1883 marked the final step in the progressive development of that organization from the status of an association to an ecclesiastical body. The majority of holiness leaders, however, openly opposed such action by branding the Centralia group as fanatics or "comeouters." Since the 1867 inception of the interdenominational holiness movement, its proponents had always opposed any move toward sectarianism and instructed their followers to maintain strict loyalty to the established churches.¹

Nevertheless, as early as 1869, Dr. Lore, editor of an official Methodist periodical, *Northern Christian Advocate*, voiced apprehension concerning the quasi-ecclesiastical nature of the National Camp Meeting Association. He asserted:

The first [National] held at Vineland, New Jersey, was held under the auspices of a Presiding Elder. The second and third [Nationals] were held without any such nominal connection, taking an entirely independent character. It was an assembly of principally Methodists and Methodist ministers. So while it is known as a Methodist meeting and the public holds the Church responsible for it, she has nothing officially or authoritatively to do with it.²

Such statements of concern by Methodist leaders were not uncommon during

¹ Cowen, "Church Of God (Holiness)," 20, 21.

² Dallas D. Lore, "National Camp Meeting," *Northern Christian Advocate* (Auburn, New York), XXIX, July 1, 1869, 205.

the 1870s and 1880s.

Church leaders watched in dismay as the members of the National Camp Meeting Association spread their sphere of influence from coast to coast. By March, 1884, the National Association had held no fewer than fifty-four summer camps. Ministers and lay members alike returned home from these gatherings to spread the doctrine of Christian perfection, to establish holiness prayer bands, holiness associations on both the state and county levels, holiness periodicals, and holiness schools. Such a preoccupation over the second blessing aroused progressively bitter opposition from all levels of the official church.³

Bishop Thomas Bowman dramatized this while addressing a group of young Methodist ministers at the 1883 New England Annual Conference. He referred to the subject of holiness as a "darkness that repels our people." Bowman continued:

It becomes my duty to guard you against making too much of a speciality . . . there are some of our people who are constantly talking and entirely too much on the question of entire sanctification . . . one holiness man left his wife and took his hired girl and traveled around the country. He was crazed on this doctrine.⁴

William McDonald, editor of The Christian Witness, took exception to the accusation of the bishop by saying:

We have known ministers who professed only justification to be guilty of just such acts, but we have never known their acts to be attributed to their being crazed by too much justification, nor have we heard of our bishops warning the ministers on that account, to be careful and not make justification a speciality, . . . We have

³McDonald and Searles, Life Of Inskip, 196-198.

⁴Daily Journal (New England Annual Conference), 1883, as reported by William McDonald, "Bishop Bowman's Address," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. 1, April 19, 1883, 4.

observed in the episcopal addresses of late years, what we are unable to account for; viz., where one word of warning has been given against the incoming tide of 'formalism,' ten have been uttered against 'fanaticism'--fanaticism as the result of Holiness. Our only danger, it would seem is in having too much holiness.⁵

This was not the first time that Bowman had attacked the advocates of perfect love. A full five years earlier at Salina, Kansas, while delivering his episcopal address to the Kansas Annual Conference, the bishop alluded to the same incident where a minister supposedly became crazed by holiness. Bowman continued by stating wherever such men "have worked they have succeeded in greatly injuring the churches and have driven good Christians from their places of worship." The editor of The Daily reported that the "plainness of Bowman could not be misconstrued" and he characterized the discourse as "very sensible, practical advice to the ministry."⁶

Another attack appeared in the New York Christian Advocate which was the largest and most influential Methodist publication in America. Here Rev. Thomas J. Wheat, a presiding elder from Brookfield, Missouri, stated that the leaders of the holiness movement in the states of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas were all or nearly so, zealous advocates of "comeoutism." He further accused:

⁵ Ibid.; William McDonald, "Crazed By Holiness," Ibid., May 3, 1883, 4. For an official Methodist retort see James Fry, "Bishop Bowman On Religious Specialities," Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVII, May 16, 1883, 156. For a comparison of the spiritual character of Bishop Bowman to that of his episcopal fellows including Matthew Simpson, who was a strong proponent of holiness, see William McDonald, "The Difference In Bishops," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. I, May 3, 1883, 6.

⁶ Conference Proceedings, The Conference Daily (Salina, Kansas), I, March 16, 1878, 1.

For the last ten years in some of these States the Holiness Associations have been a standing menace to the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As associations they have been, and are today, religious anarchists. By conversation and address they denounce the Church, and publicly and privately slander our preachers. . . . These evils are not local but general in these States. 'The baptism of common sense' has never reached them in these parts.⁷

Another controversy erupted as early as 1879 over comments published in the Advocate Of Christian Holiness concerning the character of Bishop Edward R. Ames. The bishop, recently deceased, was according to Editor McDonald, "a man seemingly void of human sympathy, and almost entirely destitute of feelings of mercy." He concluded that Ames was the "most merciless man that ever occupied the episcopal chair in our Church." In response the editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate characterized these remarks as "sour, unjust, and disgraceful." In a second article McDonald chided the editor of the Northwestern Advocate by stating, "Bishop Ames was a 'religious man,' even as religious as our brother of the Northwestern we have no reason to doubt."⁸

Such rhetorical remarks only fueled the controversy between the advocates of Christian perfection and the church. Editorials that derided the spiritual condition of established Methodism and its nominal members continued to appear in the holiness press. Abusive clerical politics, lack of temperance, attendance at improper amusements, and "worldly"

⁷Thomas J. Wheat, "Dr. Steele Minifies The Evil," Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), LXIII, January 12, 1888, 20.

⁸William McDonald, "The Death Of Bishop Ames," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 140, 141; William McDonald, "The Northwestern," Ibid., August, 1879, 191; "Passing Comment," Northwestern Christian Advocate (Chicago), XVII, July 2, 1879, 4.

dress became the main overt issues of the 1880s.⁹ Other factors influenced more the ideological direction of the church such as the Darwin theory of evolution and higher or Biblical criticism. As early as June, 1883, official tolerance for these teachings was manifested through the columns of an official Methodist publication, Central Christian Advocate, where Rev. D. Curry described the theory of evolution as a "universal law . . . and as representing the Bible in matters of science it belongs to an infantile period of the history of the growth of human knowledge and its methods of thought in all such matters are especially unscientific." The holiness people rejected these theories as attacking the basic infallibility of the Bible, but, nevertheless, these teachings continued to progressively gain acceptance in the church press and at Methodist seminaries. The graduates of such institutions gradually filled local pastorates where they showed little concern for propagaing early Wesleyan theology.¹⁰

Individuals who openly voiced sentiments against these trends were often brought before local committees of examination. One such champion of primitive Wesleyan morality, as a result of testifying against church "fairs, auctioneering, and guessing for cakes," which he

⁹Melvin E. Dieter, "Revivalism And Holiness," 227, 228; John P. Brooks, "Line Upon Line," Banner Of Holiness (Bloomington, Illinois), VI, August 17, 1878, 2; "A Methodist Theater!!! The Fashionable Local Event!! No Revival Of Religion," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, March 24, 1885, 2. Henry Clay Morrison, a leading Southern Methodist minister and advocate of Bible holiness went so far as to accuse feather-wearing church women of contributing to the near extinction of many species of American song birds. Henry C. Morrison, "Victim Of Senseless Fashion," The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), IX, August 11, 1897, 6.

¹⁰D. Curry, "Evolution-Darwinism-The Bible," Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVII, June 13, 1883, 185.

asserted was a "species of gambling," was ordered by his local church examining board and the local minister to either publicly recant his statements or leave the church. The leaders of the National movement advised such individuals not to recant and at the same time not to voluntarily sever their ecclesiastical connections.¹¹ The fundamentalists felt the only way to reclaim their card-playing, dancing, and Sabbath-breaking Methodist brethren was to live an exemplary holy life. They insisted that spirituality was directly measured by non-conformity to the material "world" and that "the same methods, which were successful in the past, must be depended upon in the future--a clean heart and a right spirit. . . . Reliance upon anything else will prove an utter failure."¹² The lack of attendance at local prayer meetings and class

¹¹ John S. Inskip, "Inquiries Of Correspondence," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXV, May, 1885, 155; John and Cora Glendening, "The True Church," Holiness War News (Clay Center, Kansas), 1, April, 1891, 2; "Sabbath Desecration," Beulah Items (Providence, Rhode Island), o.s. IV, January, 1891, 4; "A Holiness Meeting Destroyed," Ibid., September, 1891, 1.

¹² "Is The Methodist Church Declining?" The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. 11, December 4, 1884, n.p. Dr. Beverly Carradine graphically described what he considered the folly and sin of modern church entertainment. He sustained the following objections:

1. "They divert the church from soul winning to money making.
2. They desecrate the house of God.
3. They misrepresent the mission of the church.
4. There is no warrant for them in Scripture.
5. They are a foe to Spiritual life.
6. They put the church in a false light before the world.
7. They humiliate Jesus.

meetings which "early Methodist heroes regarded as indispensable aids to piety and soul growth" was also abhorred. Abandonment of these traditional Wesleyan institutions as early as 1858 caused Nathan Bangs, a strong holiness ally, to warn the church against relaxing its requirements of class meeting attendance. He maintained that individuals unwilling to accept tried and proven Methodist institutions "probably were not really converted and should not be taken into the church in any case."¹³

8. They are physically exhausting and demoralizing.
9. They beget dissensions.
10. They screen the avarice of stingy church members.
11. They shift the responsibility of church support from its proper place.
12. They present a blemished offering.
13. They are of the nature of the sin of Ananias and Sapphira.
14. They involve the church in inconsistency and contradiction.
15. They are worldly in their character.
16. They educate wrongly.
17. They are not financially profitable.
18. They destroy lines God has drawn between the church and the world.
19. They rob the pulpit of its force and the church of its rebuking power.

20. General testimony is against them." Beverly Carradine, Church Entertainment: Twenty Objections; "Church Entertainments," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), VI, July, 1892, 3.

¹³Nathan Bangs, "The Recent Revival," Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), XXXIII, January 21, 1858, 9; Ibid., July 29, 1858, 117. In 1742 John Wesley divided the membership of his societies into classes of about twelve, one of whom was styled the leader. These

The continual denial of primitive Wesleyan doctrine and behavior by the majority of Methodist proved to be the primary catalyst that drove the perfectionists within the church to extend their extra-ecclesiastical work. The most common method used to spread and preserve holiness doctrine was the formation of local camp meeting associations. The initial report of one such organization in August, 1883, stated that thirty-one members were accepted into the newly formed Kansas Western Holiness Association which elected officers, initiated rules of conduct, and adopted articles of faith.¹⁴ State associations

groups were arranged according to residences and met in private homes. The original number however, soon enlarged and sometimes from twenty to fifty or even a larger number met in a single class. Simpson, Methodism, 227-229.

¹⁴J. Carnahan, "Camp-Meeting At McNamers Grove," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), I, November, 1883, 3; "Constitution And By-Laws," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, March 13, 1885, 2. Rules and regulations for the Kansas Western Holiness Association included:

- Rule 1. "This association shall be known as the Kansas Western Holiness Association, for the purpose of the sanctification of believers, reclaiming the backsliders, and the conversion of sinners.
- Rule 2. Its officers shall consist of President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer.
- Rule 3. Officers shall be elected annually, and hold their office until their successors shall be duly elected by a majority of the members present at a regular called meeting.
- Rule 4. The President shall call and preside over all regular called meetings, and push the work of Holiness into every open door.
- Rule 5. All officers of the Association shall be authorized to organize auxiliary bands to the organization.
- Rule 6. The Vice-President shall discharge the duties of the President whenever the President is not there.
- Rule 7. The Secretary shall keep a correct record of the work of

in turn were much the same as their smaller sister bodies except they had a wider geographical sphere of influence and consequently a larger membership. In Kansas and Texas they established permanent camp meeting sites at Wichita and Greenville, respectively, whereas, in the Oklahoma Territory the annual state gatherings were moved each year.¹⁵

the Association, and faithfully report the same whenever called upon.

- Rule 8. The Treasurer shall retain and pay out, by the direction of the Association, all the money belonging to the same and give a faithful showing of accounts, whenever called upon.

ARTICLES OF FAITH

- Art. 1. We believe that persons are justified, and become children of God by faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, said faith is always preceded by genuine evangelical repentance.
- Art. 2. We believe that entire sanctification is the work of God, whereby Christians are made personally holy, and that this word of God is subsequent to justification, and is realized through faith in Jesus Christ, and necessarily preceded by an entire, hearty, sincere, perpetual and an eternal consecration to God for a holy heart, to be used in service or sacrifice.
- Art. 3. We denounce and repudiate the modern doctrine and practice of comeoutism.
- Art. 4. So far as we have open doors, we will co-operate to build up Christ's spiritual kingdom in the hearts of men, with all christians of every name.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERSHIP

The association shall be composed of such persons as give satisfactory evidence to the Association of their experience of entire sanctification." J. Carnahan, "Camp-Meeting At McNamers' Grove," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, November, 1883, 3.

¹⁵ "Greenville Holiness Camp Meeting [History Of] ," Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, July 5, 1906, 1; "Texas State Holiness Association: Statement Of Doctrine; Form Of Governmnet," Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), 1, May, 1900, 5; R. J. Finley, "Kansas Holiness Association - Secretary's Report," The Christian Witness And

The Kansas group first known as the Southern Kansas Holiness Association traced its origins to an 1880 camp meeting held by Rev. Ira V. Putney in Sumner County. For the next few years this work grew slowly but an Annual Camp was continued at Haysville, Kansas under the direction of Milton L. Haney, a Methodist evangelist from Illinois.¹⁶ By 1884 two camps were held; one in Cowley County, twelve miles north of Winfield on the west side of the Big Walnut River from July 18 to 28 and again in Sumner County nine miles southeast of Wellington on Slate Creek from July 30 to August 6.¹⁷

This work took a distinct upturn in the summer of 1888 when the efforts of Rev. Putney were combined with those of Revs. Haney, G. L. Miller, and S. B. Rhoades at a camp meeting in Riverside Park, Wichita. In 1889 these evangelists labored in as many as ten camp or tabernacle meetings. As a result the holiness endeavors in Kansas continued to grow and by 1891 recorded a membership of three hundred adherents along with nineteen evangelists. That same year Rev. Joseph H. Smith oversaw the regularly scheduled Annual Camp which was conducted in addition to at least six other local camp meetings disbursed between Argonia, Benton, Spivey, Kiowa, Cunningham, and Silver Creek, Kansas. According to R. J. Finley these conclaves were "the means of bringing many into

Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, December 4, 1893, 5; "Camp Meeting," and "Notice [Indian Territory]," Ibid., (Boston and Chicago), XVII, August 3, 1899, 12.

¹⁶Yearbook of the 95th Annual Camp Meeting of the Kansas State Holiness Association Incorporated, Interdenominational, Beulah Park, Wichita, Kansas, 3, 4.

¹⁷C. A. Fleming and S. Hewitt, "Camp Meeting Notices," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), I, July, 1884, 3.

the fountain of cleansing. Whole families have accepted the cleansing blood . . . This is a glorious work and Victory is ours.

Hallelujah!"¹⁸

A winter convention and business meeting was also held each year, and in 1891 the group met at Hutchinson, Kansas, where the name Kansas State Holiness Association was adopted. Rev. Rhoades stated that this was done because of their ever widening geographical sphere of influence. Here arrangements were made for the two large canvas tabernacles of the association to be in the field from June to October, 1892.

Officers elected reflected the interdenominational scope of the State Association by their church affiliations: Rev. Cyrus S. Nusbaum, Methodist Episcopal; Rev. A. B. Bruner, Methodist Episcopal; Rev. A. E. Flickinger, Evangelical; Rev. A. W. Cummings, Methodist Episcopal; and R. J. Finley, Lutheran. According to Finley, over one fifth of the members of the association belonged to denominations other than the Methodist.¹⁹

Thirty or forty preachers assisted these men at the 1893 Annual Camp Meeting where approximately three to five thousand lay persons were on the Riverside Park Grounds at any one time. A large tabernacle was erected in which three meals a day were served costing \$3.50 per week for preachers and \$4.00 for others. Hundreds of individual small rooming tents (10'x12' or 12'x14') were rented for \$2.00 or \$2.50

¹⁸S. B. Rhoades, "From Kansas," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, May 28, 1891, 5; "Camp Meeting Calendar," Ibid., 8; R. J. Finley, "From Kansas," Ibid., December 3, 1891, 4.

¹⁹S. B. Rhoades, "From Kansas," Ibid., X, January 7, 1892, 8; S. B. Rhoades, "Harvester Gleanings," Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio), XX, April, 1892, 30.

respectively. Special arrangements were made for reduced rates with the Wichita Electric Street Car Company.²⁰

Rev. S. P. Jacobs set the spiritual tone at this camp during the first service when he delivered a message on "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost." The schedule for each day consisted of prayer and consecration meetings before the nine A.M. service with Bible reading and preaching at ten-thirty A.M. The program in the afternoon started at two and continued with praise and prayer until preaching at three. In the evening the song service began at eight o'clock and the preaching at eight-thirty. During the ten-day meeting approximately eighty-nine people were converted and 149 sanctified. Secretary Finley reported that the "Holy Ghost fire is spreading, Glory! Glory! Glory!"²¹

Subsequent monthly meetings were held in homes of members, local

²⁰"Holiness Camp Meeting," The Wichita (Kansas) Daily Beacon, June 6, 1893, 4; "Holy of Holies," Ibid., June 9, 1893, 4; "The Camp Meeting," Ibid., June 15, 1893, 4. The larger state associations normally compiled "Guide Books" of discipline. These covered such subjects as: 1. Constitution and By-laws of the State Associations 2. Statement of Doctrine 3. Object and Mission 4. Rules for Reception of members 5. Rules for organizing County Associations auxiliary to the State Associations 6. Model for Constitution and By-laws of a County Ass'n auxiliary to the State Associations. Etta E. Shaw, "Semi-annual Convention," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 11, April, 1884, 5, 6. See Appendix A for the structure of a state association.

²¹"Holy of Holies," The Wichita (Kansas) Daily Beacon, June 9, 1893, 4; R. J. Finley, "Kansas Holiness Association - Secretary's Report," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, December 14, 1893, 5. For a conclusive account of the Texas State Association's early history see "Greenville Holiness Camp Meeting [History of]," Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, July 5, 1906, 1; C. T. Hogan, "The Early Holiness Movement In Texas," Ibid., July 12, 1906, 5. For an individual report on one of the early annual camps of the Oklahoma Territory Association see "Church Notes," Indian Journal (Eufaula, Oklahoma Territory), September 7, 1894, 4; "The Holiness Meeting," Ibid., September 21, 1894, 4; Ibid., September 28, 1894, 4.

churches, or quite often in rural schoolhouses where holiness exponents felt a greater degree of spiritual freedom. These concourses constituted the most basic structural unit of the holiness revival and were known as "bands." Such assemblies closely resembled the class meetings John Wesley initiated in eighteenth-century England, and they, like the early Methodist institution proved most successful in the egalitarian "West."²²

"Band" or monthly services attracted people from whole county areas hence, three services were generally scheduled for the day. Typically, one service was held in the morning, one in the afternoon, and one in the evening. According to J. F. Wolford, secretary of the Neosho Valley Holiness Association, "souls were converted and sanctified in nearly every meeting . . . and at their last gathering in the 'M. E. Church' Edna, Kansas, the Lord sent a real tidal wave." Consequently, the association planned two meetings for the next month--one at Pioneer Schoolhouse near Edna, and one near Norton.²³ Such "bands" also held "cottage" or home prayer meetings one night a week where

²²"Band Reports," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 3, 4; Milton L. Haney, "Holiness Associations," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, December 6, 1894, 8; Milton L. Haney, "'Specially' Rules For Band Meetings," Ibid., XIII, January 10, 1895, 5; Milton L. Haney, "The County Associations," Ibid., XIV, February 13, 1896, 2. The usage of "West" by the 1880s referred to a geographical region including the states of Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, and the Oklahoma Territory. The "band" concept also traced its roots to interdenominational meetings conducted in sparsely populated rural communities. Nelson Case, History Of Labette County Kansas From The First Settlement To The Close Of 1892, 317.

²³J. F. Wolford, "Neosho Valley Band Meeting Report," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, April 12, 1894, 12.

prayer and testimonies were the general order.²⁴

Monthly conventions and cottage prayer meetings helped to fuse the members of the holiness associations together, but their summer camps were the spiritual highlight of the year. The Neosho Valley Group held their Annual 1893 Assemblage at Oswego, Kansas, and the 1894 Meeting in Parsons. At both of these meetings they engaged Rev. Edward F. Walker, a Presbyterian who was a nationally recognized holiness evangelist and also a former pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Parsons. Rev. Walker asserted that large crowds of people thronged to the Parsons meeting site (one third of a mile from the gas works) and a large number of converts were reported. Evangelist Walker was also impressed by the interdenominational scope of the Southeast Kansas Association-- president, Congregationalist; vice president, United Brethren; secretary, Methodist; treasurer, Presbyterian.²⁵

Holiness associations often gathered on the farm of one of their members for a week-end of social activities at special times like the Fourth of July. In 1896 the members of the Neosho Valley Association

²⁴B. S. Barton, "Twelve Mile, Kan. To The War Cry," Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas), V, March 15, 1894, 4.

²⁵"Camp Meeting," The Parsons (Kansas) Daily Sun, August 19, 1894, 4; "The Churches," Ibid., September 2, 1894, 4; Edward F. Walker, "Rev. Dr. E. F. Walker [Camp Report]," Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXVIII, September 28, 1893, 12; Edward F. Walker, "Parsons, Kansas Camp Report," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, September 12, 1894, 12. Edward Franklin Walker (1852-1918) was converted in 1871 in San Francisco at the National Camp Meeting Tabernacle Crusade after which he affiliated with the Methodist for many years before becoming a Presbyterian. A wealthy philanthropist financed his college in California in 1873. In his later years Walker became a General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Edward Franklin Walker Diary, June, 1871, 4; May 27, 1873, 74; Edward Franklin Walker's Papers, Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri.

attended such a gathering on the farm of J. F. Wolford near Angola, Kansas, where they enjoyed the scheduled festivities. Here the agenda consisted of basket dinners, singings, and religious services.²⁶

Revivals were also periodically conducted by travelling evangelists under the auspices of such local associations. Rev. N. J. Nelson reported the results of his evangelistic efforts at Spring Creek Schoolhouse, Smith County, Kansas, in 1894 when he exclaimed, "Halleluiah! Forty-two souls saved between March 17 and April 8."²⁷ For such services weather-tight structures were not always available on the rural prairies of Kansas and the Oklahoma Territory. Evangelists even conducted services under brush arbors or in roughly constructed log schoolhouses. Rev. Benjamin H. Irwin, in recounting his work in the Oklahoma Territory, stated:

I came across country by covered wagon travelling over hard "Gumbo" and through deep sand and "Blackjacks," . . . Our meetings were held in a log schoolhouse 16 by 20 feet with a sod roof and dirt floor. On Sunday I preached to a small but appreciative congregation and five came to the altar as definite seekers of entire sanctification.²⁸

Irwin illustrated the physical and emotional load of the itinerant life when he reported that he had delivered "over seven hundred sermons and Bible readings in eighteen months." He declared that he had almost fallen three times while trying to finish a sermon; as a result all of his evangelistic engagements in the near future were cancelled.

²⁶"Social Times," Cherryvale (Kansas) Republican, July 10, 1896, 3.

²⁷M. J. Nelson, "Halleluiah! 42 Saved At Spring Creek Schoolhouse," Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas), V, April 19, 1894, 1.

²⁸Benjamin H. Irwin, "From Holt, Oklahoma," Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXXI, November 21, 1895, 16.

E. M. Murrill, another travelling minister, reported similar results in Texas and Louisiana where he witnessed 313 souls converted and 460 sanctified in ten months.²⁹

Such independent evangelists were not directly responsible to any ecclesiastical leaders or organization except the local holiness associations which called them. As a result many fanatical excesses were manifested in both doctrine and physical actions. These heresies included a teaching which divided full salvation into seven stages referred to as "the seven steps to the throne." They included: (1) Repentance, (2) justification, (3) regeneration, (4) entire sanctification, (5) baptism with the Holy Ghost, (6) gift of healing, and (7) translation." Persons who obtained "translation faith" supposedly would never die.³⁰

Other proponents taught an extravagance referred to as marital purity in which they openly opposed sexual contact between a man and his wife. J. R. Calwell, as such an advocate and editor of The Quarterly Christian Life used his publication to take an unbending stand on this subject when he asserted: "We believe all gratification of sexual

²⁹ Benjamin H. Irwin, "Rev. B. H. Irwin," Ibid., XXVIII, September 21, 1893, 12; E. M. Murrill, "Tidings From Evangelists," Ibid., XXXI, October 24, 1895, 14. One of these meetings was conducted in a large canvas tabernacle in Abilene, Texas. Rev. Murrill confirmed that people came in covered wagons from as far away as eighty miles and three hundred miles by rail. The crowd averaged fifteen hundred persons per service and the evangelist said he counted "twenty-one souls converted and forty-seven sanctified." E. M. Murrill, "Meeting At Abilene, Texas," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, July 24, 1895, 1.

³⁰ C. W. Bronson and George Newton, "To The Public," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, June 1, 1884, 2; Charles Broughten Jernigan, Pioneer Days of the Holiness Movement in the Southwest, 150. Cited hereafter, Jernigan, Pioneer Days.

appetite aside from a desire to glorify God in the production of offspring, is a violation of natural law, (as evidenced in the brute creation), of physical law, (proved by the awful penalties that visit this sin), . . ."³¹ Rev. A. M. Hills reported that men who taught and practiced such folly often boasted in testimony services how dead they were to their wives and children. "They were so dead to their dependents,"

he asserted, "that many times they forgot to support their children begotten in other days." Hills concluded, "Those must have been days when they had a little less religion, but a good deal more sense."³²

Martin Wells Knapp of Cincinnati, Ohio, editor of The Revivalist, also characterized the marital purity agitation as "unscriptural, fanatical, and of a dangerous tendency."³³ Rev. Charles Parham, when recounting the fanatical excesses he witnessed, avowed that some individuals became so emotionally excited that they (supposedly under the influence of the Holy Spirit) would "jump for fifteen or twenty minutes and clear the floor by two or three feet." Reports indicated the "holy jumpers" would scream until "you could hear them three miles away on a clear night and until their blood vessels stood out like whip cords."³⁴

³¹J. R. Caldwell, "An Open Confession," The Quarterly Christian Life (Jacksonville, Illinois), II, Autumn, 1888, 15. Caldwell used his publication to discuss such topics as family hygiene, dress, diet, children's companions, and school. "Thoughts On Marital Purity, Part II: Dress, Diet, Associations, Exercise, School," Ibid., III, September 21, 1889, 142.

³²Aaron M. Hills, "Fanaticism Among Holiness People," The Holiness Advocate (Goldsboro, North Carolina), III, April 1, 1903, 5.

³³"Social Purity," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XI, January 26, 1899, 5.

³⁴Charles Parham, "Sermon," The Apostolic Faith (Baxter Springs, Kansas), Whole Number 3, April, 1925, 9.

Unrestrained emotionalisms and unsound doctrines were not endorsed by the majority of holiness witnesses. They looked on the fanatic with disdain and believed he did irreparable damage to the cause of Christian holiness when he rejected all human logic and displaced it with his own self-styled divine inspiration.³⁵

Many holiness leaders within established Methodism realized that if the church did not return to the doctrine of Wesley, a schism was inevitable. To forestall such a circumstance, several prominent Methodist proponents of Christian perfection addressed an open letter to the bishops. They suggested a holiness convention be called by the bishops in order to bring the perfectionist revival under the direction of the church. Rev. William Harris, secretary of the board of bishops, responded that they were "alarmed at certain extravagances connected with the subject [holiness]." Nevertheless, the bishops declined the invitation to chair a convention.³⁶ However, conventions convened in Cincinnati and New York (1877); Jacksonville, Illinois (1880); Round Lake, New York (1882); Chicago (1885); and again in Chicago in 1901.³⁷

³⁵George Weaver, "Fanaticism," Sent of God (Glenwood, Iowa), 1, September 1, 1892, 1; Milton L. Haney, "Fanaticism," Ibid., (Tabor, Iowa), XIV, June 15, 1899, 2.

³⁶"Two Letters: To The Bishops Of The Methodist Episcopal Church and Reply of the Bishops," Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVI, January 18, 1882, 18.

³⁷Dieter, "Revivalism and Holiness," 239-245. For primary accounts of the individual conventions see Proceedings Of Holiness Conferences, 1877; Solomon Benjamin Shaw, ed., Proceedings of the General Holiness Assembly, Held in the Park Avenue M. E. Church in Chicago, May 20-26, 1885; Echoes of the General Holiness Assembly Held in Chicago, May 3-13, 1901, edited by Solomon Benjamin Shaw. "Report of Committee On Paternal Address To The Churches," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. IX, February, 1878, 36, 37, 47, 48; A. E. Sexton, "The Holiness Convention A Success," Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 5, December 30, 1880, 4; A. E. Sexton, "Address Of The Central Western

These assemblages were attended by both the conservative and independent or moderate "comeouter" factions. The conservatives generally were members of the National Camp Meeting Association and quite often held influential Methodist pastorates in large Eastern cities. The independent moderates were leaders of state and county associations and were often ministers who had been expelled from their respective denominations for preaching holiness. They included such men as: Isiah Reid, (Presbyterian), president of the Iowa Holiness Association and editor of the Highway (Nevada, Iowa); John P. Brooks (Methodist Episcopal), editor of the Banner Of Holiness (Bloomington, Illinois); William T. Ellis (Methodist Episcopal), editor of the Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas); Solomon Benjamin Shaw (Methodist Episcopal), editor of the Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan); Thomas K. Doty (Wesleyan Methodist), editor of the Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio); A. M. Kiergan (Methodist Episcopal Church, South), editor of The Good Way (College Mound, Missouri).³⁸

Holiness Union Convention Held In Jacksonville, Illinois, December 15-16, 1880," Ibid., Whole Number 8, January 20, 1881, 1; A. E. Sexton, "Holiness The Great Need [Round Lake Convention]," Ibid., (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 80, August 3, 1882, 2, 3; A. E. Sexton, "The Assembly Again," Ibid., Whole Number 120, May 24, 1883, 3; "General Holiness Assembly Chicago, May 20th," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXV, May, 1885, 154; "The General Assembly Chicago," Ibid., LXXVI, July 1885, 26-28; Ibid., September 1885, 95. "Declarations Of Principles," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, June, 1885, 9, 10; Solomon Benjamin Shaw, "General Holiness Assembly," Ibid., 14; I. G. Terrill, "Address Of George Hughes Upon Taking The Chair At The Chicago Assembly," Ibid., 9.

³⁸ Charles Edwin Jones, A Guide to the study of the Holiness Movement, 590, 620, 625, 728, 742. Editor Brooks related several incidents in which pastors removed the names from the local rolls of as many as forty proponents of holiness and one Methodist presiding elder was instrumental in having a holiness evangelist run out of a small town in Illinois. John P. Brooks, "Facts That Are Stubborn," Banner Of Holiness (Bloomington, Illinois), no. vol., n.d., n.p.

These ministers represented the rural "West" and generally favored drawing the National movement together into a congregationalist body centered around the local "bands." In turn the local organizations would become independent holiness churches electing their own pastors and owning their own property. A correspondent for the Fire And Hammer justified this position by stating "past experience has taught that there is no hope of reforming the existing anti-holiness denominations composed as they are in the main unregenerated people, proud, fashionable, and worldly minded."³⁹

³⁹Cowen, "Church Of God (Holiness)," 24, 25. B. A. Washburn listed the following reasons for establishing independent holiness churches:

1. "Many have no church home. They cannot endorse the modes and customs of the religious denominations around them.
2. Many have been turned out of their denominations because they have embraced sanctification and were a living rebuke to religious sinners around them.
3. Multitudes have been taken out of the pit of sin and are now gloriously sanctified and do not feel led to join any denomination. This is the people's movement and is as broad as the universe.
4. The forming of ten of thousands of independent churches does not make any less Bible Christians but increases them.
5. It is not a sin to get people saved (sanctified) and set things in order without consulting any or all religious denominations.
6. 'Independent Holiness Churches' call only sanctified pastors to feed them, hence the sheep grow in grace and knowledge as Peter's epistle to sanctified churches exhorts.
7. The Sheep being fed are feeding others and are aggressive and not only keep saved, but are helping others to get saved.
8. Feeding the sheep in these folds prevents their running around after poisonous weeds--hence a preventive to sickness and death.
9. Many small Independent Churches prevent pride of numbers and

As loyal Methodists the conservatives opposed such a thesis and any formal declaration of union. At the 1885 Chicago Convention, Chairman, Rev. George Hughes as the leading conservative, went so far as to pocket veto a letter from James F. Washburn, who as an independent moderate, described the successes of the congregational holiness church work in California. The chairman thus refused to allow what he regarded as rank "comeoutism" propaganda to be publicly read on the floor of the convention. Instead, he maneuvered the delegates into seeking a gigantic infusion of the Holy Spirit. The refusal of Hughes to recognize the separatist faction drew a quick and critical response from William Ellis, who accused the chairman and his conservative allies, of "unsound principles and unfair practices" in their control of the assembly. Rev. Ellis concluded that in the future separate regional conventions should be held because as he said, "The narrow contractedness of the east will never coalesce with the broadness and fullness of the west."⁴⁰

denominational glory and give poor people a chance. Twenty-five or thirty is enough in any one place; swarm and scatter out and do something for others.

10. 'The best of all God is with us'; God's blessings rest upon the churches so that the children and neighbors are being sanctified and kept and we firmly believe it is the most efficient way to reach and save the masses of the earth and to keep them saved. Then in the name of Israel's God let the Assembly declare to the world that the permanent salvation of souls is of vastly more importance than methods regular or irregular. Speak out; voice of freedom over the earth by declaring in favor of 'Independent Holiness Churches with pentecost sanctification as a basis for membership; Amen and Amen.'" Cowen, "Church Of God (Holiness), 24, 25. Cowen found his material in B. A. Washburn, "To The General Assembly, Chicago, May 20, 1885," The Good Way (College Mound, Missouri), May 23, 1885.

⁴⁰ William Ellis, "Holiness Assembly," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka,

Rev. A. M. Kiergan, editor of The Good Way, summarized his feelings concerning the handling of the convention by stating:

Sectarianism will never work in harmony with any thing outside the sect it advocates. 2. That so-called eastern holiness is sectarian to the bone, compromising and worldly. 3. That now the lines are everywhere clearly drawn between sectly, worldly, compromising would be holiness, and the real Bible sort. 4. That it will be useless to attempt, hereafter an assembly where that element is allowed to assume the front.⁴¹

Two other moderates, who, no doubt, were dissatisfied with the results of the convention, included Harden Wallace of southern California and Solomon Benjamin Shaw of Michigan. These men had helped to initiate the independent holiness work in their respective states.⁴²

Rev. Shaw in reality labored on what he referred to as the "undenominational line" which constituted a sort of middle ground between the association plan favored by the denominationally oriented members of the National and the independent congregationalists of the movement. Here Shaw confirmed that both the independent holiness churches and the interdenominational associations had a legitimate mission but

Kansas), 11, June, 1885, 1. One reason the radical delegates at the 1885 Assembly were so upset at the way it was handled was that the majority of these delegates were the ones who ask for the Assembly in the first place. John P. Brooks, "et al," "The General Assembly. The Official Call," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, May 1, 1885, 3. By 1901 when the next national convention was held in Chicago its conservative delegates had moved closer to recognizing the necessity of maintaining work independent of the established church. Echoes of the General Holiness Holiness Assembly, 1901.

⁴¹"The Big Convention," The Gospel Trumpet (Williamston, Michigan), VII, August 1, 1885, 2. For a more detailed account see A. M. Kiergan, Historical Sketches of the Revival of True Holiness and Local Church Polity from 1865-1916, 61-64. Warner quite often used material from The Good Way. A. M. Kiergan, "Objections to Sectism," The Gospel Trumpet (Williamston, Michigan), VI, September 15, 1884, 1.

⁴²Timothy L. Smith, Called Unto Holiness, The Story Of The Nazarenes: The Formative Years, 27-35.

but as he said, "Our work is not to build up or tear down churches, but to save souls and to lead God's people into the glorious experience of entire sanctification regardless of denominational lines." He concluded that through such methods "we can reach many souls that the F. M. [Free Methodists] and W. M. [Wesleyan Methodists] would not reach."⁴³ Shaw continued to push this undenominational work through the agency of the Michigan State Holiness Association which he helped to organize at Lansing, Michigan, in December, 1881. By the late 1880s however, opposition to the unconventional work of the Michigan Association caused Shaw and his followers to progressively lean toward the establishment of an independent holiness denomination. At Dutton, Michigan, between September 23-27, 1889, they organized the Primitive Holiness Mission, the first denomination founded exclusively to propagate second blessing holiness.⁴⁴

Almost immediately this new denomination ran into strong opposition from all facets of the holiness movement. Benjamin T. Roberts, founder of the Free Methodist Church used the Free Methodist to brand Shaw as a traitor and a deceiver. At the same time A. Copeland, editor of the Holiness Evangelist of Oakland, California, as a strong supporter of independent holiness churches complained that he did not understand how "holy men who have been put in the stocks of . . . sectarian church government, and beaten from pillar to post by the sect principle and

⁴³Solomon B. Shaw, "Interdenominational Work a Special Need of the day," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 11, September, 1884, 42.

⁴⁴"History Of Organization," Ibid., (Dutton, Michigan), VII, January, 1890, 23; "Holiness Mission Conference," Ibid., 29.

spirit" should "go to work and organize another sect, and thus perpetuate the very evil which has met them at every turn in all the sects." Only Thomas K. Doty, editor of the Christian Harvester and a Wesleyan Methodist in good standing, lent tentative support to Shaw and his Michigan associates.⁴⁵

Evangelist Harden Wallace as early as the spring of 1880 launched what ultimately was to become the independent holiness church work in southern California. Here Wallace combined forces with Revs. Harry Ashcraft, James W. Swing, and Mr. and Mrs. James F. Washburn who by May, 1884, reported through the columns of the Kansas periodical, Fire And Hammer, that they had initiated four independent holiness churches from the "bands" of the Southern California and Arizona Holiness Association.⁴⁶ They organized on a congregationalist polity whereby all the local members had a say in electing elders who took charge of the spiritual interest of the local churches and deacons who supervised the temporal concerns. It also followed that the New Testament Churches called only sanctified ministers to "feed the flock" and only those who professed the experience of heart holiness were recognized as members.⁴⁷

⁴⁵"The Convention At Dutton," Ibid., September and October, 1889, 18; Mrs. S. Shaw, "A Few Important Facts," Ibid., 28, 29; S. B. Shaw, "A Second Reply," Ibid., February, 1890, 37; A. Copeland, "Interesting Letters," Ibid., "Brother S. B. Shaw And His Work," Ibid., April, 1890, 40.

⁴⁶Josephine M. Washburn, History And Reminiscences Of The Holiness Church Work In Southern California And Arizona, 7-14. Cited hereafter, Washburn, History And Reminiscences; James W. Swing, "San Bernardino, Cal. May 28, 1884," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, June, 1884, 3. For a good primary account of the early years of this work see G. E. Butler, "Holiness In Downey," Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), 1, February 5, 1886, 8; Ibid., February 26, 1886, 8.

⁴⁷Harden Wallace, "Strictures," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, August, 1884, 3; G. V. D. Brand, "Primitive Or Apostolic

This plan proved very successful as witnessed in a report published in the Pentecost that revealed at least twenty-six local holiness churches were active in southern California by January, 1893.⁴⁸

The extreme radicals of the independent movement were however, the first individuals to combine the doctrine of holiness and a stand against the sects or the established churches. Daniel Sidney Warner was one such reformer who initially spent almost ten years as a minister in the Church of God (Winebrennerian) which claimed the Bible as their only guide in life, rejected sectarian entanglements and practiced foot-washing on par with the ordinances of communion and water baptism. Less than three months after Rev. Warner began to advocate a second experience of holiness, the leadership of the Winebrennerian Church rejected his newly found perfectionist message.⁴⁹ On January 30, 1878, Warner was formally accused of trying to "divide the church"; this

Church," Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), 1, August 21, 1886, 5, 6; J. A. Foster, "Sanctification The Basis Of Membership In The New Testament Church," Ibid., February 26, 1886, 8. By the late 1880s and early 1890s these teachings had been transferred to western Kansas as evidenced in the periodical literature of the Western Union Evangelistic Association. D. P. Ziegler, "Western Union Evangelistic Association (Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Kansas)," The Western Record (Clay Center, Kansas), 111, September 10, 1892, 1; Bradford Washburn, "Twelve Reasons Why We Cannot Recognize Any One A Member Of The Church Of The Firstborn Until He Is Sanctified," Holiness War News (Clay Center, Kansas), 1, September, 1891, 1; "Holiness The Basis Of Union," Herald Of Pentecost (Kackley, Kansas), 1, September 1, 1894, 1. For a simple declaration of the principle points of government of the New Testament Churches see Government and Doctrines Of New Testament Churches, 3-23.

⁴⁸"Holiness Church Directory," Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), IX, January 12, 1893, 4; "The Basis Of Christian Union," The Kansas Evangelist (Beloit, Kansas), 1, December, 1898, 2.

⁴⁹Daniel Sidney Warner, Journal of D. S. Warner, January 1, 1879, 149-153. Anderson Theological Seminary, School of Theology Library, Anderson, Indiana.

charge was upheld and his license withdrawn. No doubt, his thinking on ecclesiastical structure had been strongly influenced first by his work in the Church of God (Winebrennerian) and his eventual rejection by that body for preaching holiness. In fact, on the day following his trial Warner said:

The Lord showed me holiness could never prosper upon sectarian soil, encumbered by human creeds, and party names, and he gave me a new commission to join holiness and all truth together and build up the apostolical church of the living God.⁵⁰

Thus, the stage was set as early as 1878 for D. S. Warner to begin his radical separatist ministry which acted as a catalyst for the independent holiness church work.

This activist centered his ministries in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan where, in October 1881, he took the final step in rejecting all visible ecclesiastical government. This transpired when Warner proposed to the North Indiana Eldership, of which he was a member, some measures that he felt would help that body conform more closely to the "Bible standard of church government." The eldership ministry refused to hear him and in response Warner along with five other members immediately withdrew. This process was basically repeated a few weeks later in Michigan where Warner again combined the doctrine of Christian perfection and his ideas of separatist church polity. This aroused opposition from the local Michigan Eldership and as a result twenty members withdrew from that body. Thus, by November, 1881, Warner had helped to create two isolated centers of independent church activity--one at Beaver Dam, Indiana, and the other at Carson City, Michigan. According

⁵⁰ Ibid., March 7, 1878, 161.

to the biography of Rev. Warner these were the first two groups in the United States "to step completely out of Babylon and take for their basis the New Testament Church alone." In accordance they resolved:

That we adhere to no body or organization but the church of God, bought by the blood of Christ, organized by the Holy Spirit, and governed by the Bible. And if the Lord will, we will hold an annual assembly of all saints who in the providence of God shall be permitted to come together for the worship of God, the instruction and edification of one another, and the transaction of such business as the Holy Spirit may lead us to see and direct in its performance.

Resolved, That we ignore and abandon the practice of preacher's license as without precept or example in the Word of God, and that we wish to be 'known by our fruits' instead of by papers.

Resolved, That we do not recognize or fellowship any who come unto us assuming the character of a minister whose life is not godly in Christ Jesus and whose doctrine is not the Word of God.

Resolved also, That we recognize and fellowship as members with us in the one body of Christ, all truly regenerated and sincere saints who worship God in all the light they possess, and that we urge all the dear children of God to forsake the snares and yokes of human parties and stand alone in the 'one fold' of Christ upon the Bible, and in the unity of the Spirit.⁵¹

Eventually under such a general plan hundreds of local holiness churches were established nation wide, "each congregation being independent of the others, except in common sympathy, and Christian fellowship; . . ." Here the holiness people attempted to reunite the doctrine of

⁵¹ A. L. Byers, Birth of a Reformation: Or the Life and Labors of Daniel S. Warner, 255-269. As early as 1875 conflict had arisen in the Indiana Eldership of the Church of God over some members belonging to the Masonic lodge and the use of tobacco. As a result several of the conservatives were expelled whereby they formed the North Indiana Eldership. D. S. Warner became identified with this body after his expulsion from the Ohio Eldership of the Church of God (Winebrennerian), Ibid., 177, 178.

heart purity with what they saw as the most likely worship form of first-century Christianity.⁵² At first these advocates did not even have any formal places of worship but met in individual homes, school-houses and when the weather permitted in the "streets or groves."⁵³

The Indiana and Michigan groups however, were not actually the first independents to completely separate themselves from the old line denominations. At North Topeka, Kansas, as early as April 17, 1881, Rev. C. A. Sexton, editor of Good Tidings, built and dedicated Faith Chapel where radical holiness and a congregationalist polity were first combined. Under the leadership of Rev. Sexton a full agenda of religious services was scheduled each week beginning on Sunday with divine worship at 11:00 A.M., Sunday School at 3:00 P.M., divine worship again at 8:00 P.M. and prayer meeting each Friday at 8:00 P.M.⁵⁴

The main emphasis at such meetings was placed on allowing each individual complete freedom to follow the leadings of the Holy Spirit. This was accomplished by not adhering to any previously set pattern for the services--referred to as "the free line." For example, they might "Sing and pray together; read a portion of the Word"; and according to E. Morgan, "then one after another would pour forth a verbal stream of gospel fire 'with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven.'"⁵⁵ This

⁵²James W. Swing, "News From The Front," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 11, November, 1884, 3.

⁵³S. B. Smith, "Correspondence," The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), 14, November 15, 1881, 3.

⁵⁴"Dedication," Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 18, April 7, 1881, 4; "Holiness Meetings," Ibid., Whole Number 22, May 5, 1881, 4.

⁵⁵A. L. Brewer, "The Free Line," The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), 11, October 16, 1889, 2; E. Morgan, "Something Better Than

reliance on direct revelation and interaction with God also was typical at similar services in Michigan where Joseph C. Fisher avowed that "we were together in one accord when the Holy Ghost separated Brother Edwin B. Lyon to take the oversight of the flock, which was solemnly ordained by prayer and the laying on of hands." Acts 6:6, 14:23; 2 Pet. 5:2.⁵⁶

Ideally therefore, the only part mankind played in organizing and controlling the New Testament Church was simply for each individual to "recognize God's organizing, and work together with Him in carrying out his will as revealed to all members by the Holy Spirit. And just to the extent that members were filled with the Holy Spirit, they were 'tempered together' or scripturally organized."⁵⁷ Thus, heart purity acted as the only binding force between individual parishioners and all counterfeit or man made unions such as the old line churches or sects were looked upon as "sin and error."⁵⁸

These radicals at this time adopted the practice of characterizing the established churches as "Modern Babylon" or as the "Mother Harlot" who had forsaken and fallen away from God. They further relied on the Bible for confirmation when exhorting others to: "Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not her plagues (Rev. 18:4)," and again "be ye not unequally yoked together

Sermons," Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 70, June 1, 1882, 4.

⁵⁶ Joseph C. Fisher, "Victory," The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), V, January 1, 1882, 2.

⁵⁷ "The Only Unsectarian Organization," Ibid., (Bucyrus, Ohio), VI, October 15, 1883, 1; W. A. Balmain, "The Church," The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), V, May, 1895, 1.

⁵⁸ William Kirby, "Lay Aside Sectarianism," Pentecost Trumpet (Clay Center, Kansas), III, February 18, 1892, 2.

with unbelievers: . . . come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord and touch not the unclean thing and I will receive you (2 Cor. 6:14-17)."⁵⁹ C. A. Sexton of Faith Chapel in North Topeka, Kansas, also employed poetry in this assault on the established church when he published the following verse from "The Wormy Manna, Or The Essence Of A False Gospel":

They would feed you on their manna
that breedeth worms and stinks,
And say they have eternal life
in these things, they think:
Their manna is false doctrine,
a thing which God doth hate:
Oh turn away from evil men,
before it is too late.⁶⁰

The more moderate independents however, opposed the use of such extreme rhetoric because they felt it actually turned people away from accepting the propriety of separate holiness churches.

Editor William T. Ellis as such a moderate again used the columns of Fire And Hammer to defend the organization of independent holiness churches while at the same time condemning the radicals or "comeouters." He described these extremists as "blind, hair brained, devil deluded fanatics who denounce all church organization by making a god out of Comeoutism. Their chief point is 'I've come out,' therefore, I am holier than thou." Rev. Ellis further asserted that "Sexton and Co. of Good Tidings manifests such a self righteous attitude that they will not even bow their heads in prayer where sinners are getting

⁵⁹D. W. McLaughlin, "The one Holy Apostolic Church Contrasted with the 'Mystic Babylon of Revelation,'" Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 14, March 10, 1881, 1, 2; Allen L. Kennedy, "Modern Babylon," The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), 1, November 28, 1888, 3.

⁶⁰"The Wormy Manna Or The Essence Of A False Gospel," Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 104, February 1, 1883, 1.

converted. Because there is a organization."⁶¹ Rev. Sexton responded to the charge of fanaticism by saying that "the followers of Jesus need not be scared by this scare word but ought to so live that it be true of them. That they are fanatical in relationship to all the drones and false professors and their creeds because living faith will inspire enthusiasm to expell such dead formalism."⁶²

Rev. A. M. Kiergan charged that such fanatics even went so far as to reject the second coming of Christ, the ressurection of the dead, and the final judgment. Instead they taught a sort of glorification in this life, present redemption of the body, walking on the streets of the New Jerusalem, and that they were actually living in heaven. They also added to these teachings general doubt as to the divine sanctity of the Sabbath as the first day of the week. One such proponent, Rev. A. L. Brewer, editor of The Royal Priest, responded in part that if anyone could show him "that this is not the time of Christ's personal reign on earth," he would be "ready to confess the whole comeouter business as premature and pack his goods and start for Babylon; . . . or the established church."⁶³ Rev. D. S. Warner of The Gospel Trumpet also struck out at the conservative independents

⁶¹"The Comeouter, The Sect Devil," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, October, 1884, 3; "'What Is It?'" Ibid., July, 1884, 3; "The Sect Incubator," Ibid., January, 1884, 3.

⁶²"Fanatic," Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 230, February 3, 1886, 3.

⁶³D. C. Brenneman, "Scraps Of History," The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), 1, May 16, 1888, 1; A. L. Brewer, "Thoughts," Ibid., 2. For a condemnation of Brewer and his radical beliefs consult George Newton, "To The Public," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), 111, June 1, 1884, 2; "What Next?" The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVIII, May 10, 1900, 5.

because as he said such advocates as T. K. Doty of the Christian Harvester acknowledged that "holiness could never prosper where high churchism was in power . . . and we must assert our rights and say to this hydra-headed monster, ecclesiasticism, get down into the dust."⁶⁴ On the other hand Doty stridently opposed the radical "comeouters" as those who overvalued feelings and impressions, and mistook the work of the imagination for the voice of the Holy Spirit."⁶⁵ In turn John P. Brooks published one of the first and strongest declarations in defense of the moderate viewpoints on independent church polity. His 1891 work, The Divine Church, constituted a treatise or systematic premise which stood in marked contrast to the Bible exploiting statements published in the periodic literature of the day by such men as D. S. Warner, C. A. Sexton, and A. L. Brewer.⁶⁶

Rev. John S. Inskip and William McDonald, president and vice president of the National Camp Meeting Association represented the majority of holiness people when they opposed the establishment of such independent churches. McDonald as editor of the National Association periodical, The Christian Witness, argued that such a phenomenon "would only

⁶⁴Daniel Sidney Warner, Scratch Book (#4028). Anderson Theological Seminary, School of Theology Library, Anderson, Indiana. This was taken longhand from a speech, "True Morals," given by Thomas K. Doty at the December, 1880, Jacksonville, Illinois, Holiness Convention. Also found in D. S. Warner, "Apostolic Power," The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), IV, July 1, 1881, 3; D. S. Warner, "Smoke From A Strange Fire," Ibid., VI, November 15, 1884, 3.

⁶⁵"Fanaticism Of The Day," Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio), XX, April, 1892, 29; "Comeoutism," Ibid., February, 1892, 12.

⁶⁶John P. Brooks, The Divine Church: a Treatise on the Origin, Constitution, Order and Ordinances of the Church; Being a Vindication of the New Testament Ecclesia, and an Expose of the Anti-Scriptural Character of the Modern Church or Sect, preface.

widen the breach between the holiness workers and the church proper, and place a new weapon in the hands of the opponents of the movement by which they will greatly hinder the work."⁶⁷ Inskip echoed his opposition to the independents when he said, "We are persuaded it is both unwise and injurious to identify the work of holiness with such men and their measures."⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the independents continued to gain numerical strength. By the twentieth century the Church of God (Holiness) and the Church Of God, Anderson, Indiana, emerged from this movement.⁶⁹

As recently as their 1982 General Convention, the Church of God (Holiness) reported independent congregations in seventeen different states with their primary strength still centered in Kansas and Missouri. Each of the 165 voting delegates represented a maximum of twenty-five local church members. This figure, according to E. W. Roy, editor of the Church Herald and Holiness Banner, represented only those people who professed a born again experience with God and excluded any of their unconverted children or any other individuals who attended the local churches but made no confession of grace.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁷"A New Holiness Church," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. 1, May 17, 1883, n.p.; "The New Church Not Scriptural," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, May 29, 1885, 1.

⁶⁸"Rev. John S. Inskip of The Standard And Home Journal," Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVI, September 20, 1882, 300.

⁶⁹Cowen, "Church of God (Holiness)," n.p.; A. L. Byers, Birth of a Reformation: Or the Life and Labors of Daniel S. Warner, n.p.

⁷⁰E. W. Roy to Craig Fankhauser, June 30, 1983, Personal Possession of Craig Fankhauser, Independence, Kansas; Church of God (Holiness) Convention Minutes, 1982, 2-4.

Church of God headquartered in Anderson, Indiana, reported for 1982 one of the largest local memberships of all the holiness groups. They claimed 220,130 local members within 2,275 congregations in every state including the District of Columbia and Canada.⁷¹

The First Holiness Church, another group that influenced the holiness movement, originated in the small town of Newburg, Ohio, during the last decade of the nineteenth century. There its founder, Rev. Benjamin Hardin Irwin, taught a subsequent experience to sanctification called the "baptism of fire." He was not, however, the first individual to describe a third experience characterized by "fire." He relied on earlier writers including Phoebe Palmer, who when describing her experience of Christian perfection referred to:

Over thirty years ago I found the description in the altar . . . a few hours after I felt the consuming energies of the living Spirit through my whole being. I trust that baptism of fire has never been lost.

Vincent Sydnor, *The Holiness Movement*, pp. 10. Citations hereafter to *The Holiness Movement*. Benjamin Hardin Irwin was born in 1817 in Newburg, Ohio. His family moved to Indiana, where in 1843, while in Indiana, he married Anna A. Stewart (1826), and lived for eight years, was converted (1878), and became a Baptist minister, and sanctified wholly (1881). Benjamin H. Irwin, "Editorial Correspondence," *The Unity of Fire* (Chicago, Michigan), pp. 27, 1900, 17 Benjamin H. Irwin, "Our Brother's Journey," *Unity*, pp. 18, 1900, 17 Benjamin H. Irwin, "Resurrection and Transformation," *Unity*, June 15, 1900, 27 "Death of Mrs. Anna Irwin," *The Unity* (Chicago, Michigan), November 15, 1918, 31 *History of the State of Indiana*, 1893-1900, edited by John W. C. Smith, Indianapolis, 1900, pp. 100-101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁷¹ 1983 Yearbook of the Church of God, United States and Canada, 266, 267.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRE BAPTIZED REVOLT 1895 TO 1911

The Fire Baptized Holiness Church, another group that influenced the holiness movement, originated in the small rural holiness associations of Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska during the last decade of the nineteenth century. There its founder Rev. Benjamin Hardin Irwin, taught a subsequent experience to sanctification called the "baptism of fire." He was not, however, the first individual to advocate a third experience characterized by "fire."¹ He relied on other writers including Phoebe Palmer, who when recounting her experience of Christian perfection reiterated:

Over thirty years ago I bound the sacrifice to the altar . . . a few hours after I felt the consuming energies of the Divine Spirit through my whole being. I trust that baptism of fire has never been lost.²

¹Vincent Synan, The Old-Time Power, 86, 87. Cited hereafter, Synan, Old-Time Power. Benjamin Hardin Irwin was born in 1854 in a log house near Mercer, Missouri. His family moved to Tecumseh, Nebraska, in 1863. While in Tecumseh, he married Anna M. Stewart (1876), practiced law eight years, was converted (1879), ordained a Baptist minister, and sanctified wholly (1891). Benjamin H. Irwin, "Editorial Correspondence," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, March 23, 1900, 1; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Our Brother's Sorrow," Ibid., May 18, 1900, 4; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Repentance and Confession," Ibid., June 15, 1900, 2; "Death of Mrs. Anna Irwin," The Tecumseh (Nebraska) Chieftan, November 15, 1919, 3; History Of The State Of Nebraska, 11, 1003-1005; United States 1870 Census, Nebraska, Johnson County, Post Office, Tecumseh, Nebraska, 6.

²George Hughes, "Baptism Of Fire," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXI, February, 1879, 20. John Fletcher, an eighteenth-century theologian and associate of John Wesley, supported the third experience. When asked how many baptisms or effusions of the sanctifying Spirit were necessary to cleanse a believer,

Rev. Asbury Lowrey, a leading conservative during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and a member of the National Camp Meeting Association, supported the third blessing idea. He differentiated between "sanctification" and "the baptism of fire" by asserting: "Sanctification purges, refines, restores in the image of God and makes a Saint"; the Holy Fire "impowers, works outwardly touching society and makes a priest mighty through God."³

Irwin reported during the summer campaign of 1895 that he felt in the "very furnace of intense desire" for the experience. On October 23, 1895, at Enid, Oklahoma Territory, he claimed to have seen a vision in which he witnessed "a cross of pure transparent fire." Within a "few moments the whole room seemed to be on fire." But not until the night of October 25 did he first sense a physical sensation of heat. All at once he experienced an "actual burning and glowing" within. At this point Irwin characterized his feelings as being at "rest in a measureless ocean of pure living fire."⁴ He continued,

he replied, "If one powerful baptism of the Spirit 'seal you unto the day of redemption, and cleanse you from all moral filthiness' so much the better. If two or more be necessary, the Lord can repeat them. . . ." John Fletcher, The Works Of John Fletcher, 4 vols., II, 632; Benjamin H. Irwin, "The Third Blessing," Live Coals of Fire, I, October 20, 1899, 5.

³Asbury Lowrey, "Is The Baptism Of The Holy Ghost A Third Blessing?" Divine Life And International Expositor Of Scriptural Holiness (New York), III, September, 1879, 46, 47; Asbury Lowrey, "The Conclusion Of The Whole Matter," Ibid., November, 1879, 81.

⁴Benjamin H. Irwin, "The Baptism Of Fire An Experience," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, November 13, 1895, 2. Prior to the time Irwin received the "fire," he was an accomplished holiness evangelist travelling widely and conducting many two-week meetings. His schedule for 1893 included meetings at (in order conducted): Freed, Nebraska; Des Moines, Iowa; Ashland, Illinois; Dennison, Iowa; Bennett, Geneva, and Lincoln, Nebraska; and

"my fingertips were even hot and seemed to burn in the manifest presence of the inworking Diety."⁵

News of this phenomenon caused a general uproar among conventional holiness advocates and resulted in the meeting reports of Irwin being banned by The Christian Witness and The Christian Standard. However, by January, 1896, editors John M. Pike of The Way Of Faith and A. W. Hall of The Wesleyan Methodist, offered their columns for his use and during the next few months Irwin submitted long flowing accounts of protracted meetings from Des Moines, Coon Rapids, Guthrie Centre, Woodward, and Olmitz, Iowa.⁶

As a local elder in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Irwin held these gatherings in cooperation with Rev. C. P. Sage, a local Wesleyan

Lineville, Iowa. The 1894 schedule included: Burr Oak, Ballaire, Colby, Smith Center, Healey, Dighton, Kiowa, Kansas; Lancing, Colorado; Knoxville, Iowa; and Geneva and Plymouth, Nebraska. In 1895 he held meetings in Lovilla, Flogler, Elm Ridge, Iowa; in Nebraska--Bethel M. E. Church, Emanuel M. E. Church, Wesley University Chapel, Valparaiso, and Homer; Lucas, Solan, Foster, and Cherokee, Iowa; DeWitt, Nebraska; Holt and Mulholt, Oklahoma Territory; Clebourne, Texas; Viola Center and Cloud, Iowa. He reported four hundred received religious experiences that year. "Camp Meeting Calendar, Benjamin H. Irwin," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, May 4, 1893, 8; Ibid., July 15, 1893, 4; Ibid., August 17, 1893, 5, 8; Ibid., XIII, June 27, 1895, 12; Ibid., July 11, 1895, 12; Ibid., September 19, 1895, 12; Ibid., October 10, 1895, 12; Ibid., October 17, 1895, 12; Ibid., XIV, January 23, 1896, 12. See also "At Home, Kansas, Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska," The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXIX, October 4, 1894, 10.

⁵Benjamin H. Irwin, "The Central Idea," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, November 10, 1899, 4.

⁶C. P. Sage, "Coon Rapids," The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, January 1, 1896, 5; C. P. Sage, "Church Notes, Iowa, Coon Rapids," Ibid., January 23, 1896, 4; C. P. Sage, "Coon Rapids," Ibid., March 25, 1896, 4; C. P. Sage, "Guthrie Centre," Ibid., April 1, 1896, 4; J. F. Packard, "The Baptism of Fire," Ibid., July 15, 1896, 3-5; C. P. Sage, "Iowa, Guthrie Centre," Ibid., July 29, 1896, 5.

minister in charge of Guthrie Centre Circuit in the Iowa Conference. Here Irwin employed his brilliant intellectual powers, magnetic personality, ardent nature, and bold disposition to influence the people of central Iowa to accept his fiery baptism.⁷ At the Olmitz Camp Meeting in either 1896 or 1897 Irwin fused the local associations of Olmitz, Coalfield, and Ontarioville which were largely composed of Wesleyan Methodists into what was known as the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of Southern Iowa. In recounting this merger Irwin asserted:

While at the Olmitz Camp Meeting, it was clearly opened to us by the Spirit of God, that the Fire Baptized Saints should unite in a definite organization and an outline for a constitution came to me like a divine revelation. . . . The next morning I wrote the organizational constitution and submitted it to some of the brethren. It met with their most hearty approval. A few days later it was adopted and the first Fire Baptized Holiness Association was in existence.⁸

This Fire Baptized group differed little from the traditional holiness associations except its primary basis of union was grounded in a definite "baptism of fire" received subsequently to sanctification. The initiation of this Fire Baptized Holiness Association led The Wesleyan Methodist to close its columns to Irwin which in turn, no doubt, played a predominant role in his gradual withdrawal from the Wesleyan Connection.⁹

Assisted by Jess Bathurst and George M. Henson, Irwin also held

⁷Ibid.

⁸Benjamin H. Irwin, "The Central Idea," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, November 10, 1899, 4.

⁹Ibid.; Oliver Fluke, "Iowa," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, November 18, 1896, 5.

meetings in Kansas during 1896. They first went to Chetopa to preside over the Twelfth Annual Camp Meeting of the Neosho Valley Holiness Association whose president was Benjamin Wesley Young. The well attended camp at Chetopa attracted people from Missouri, Indian Territory, Baxter Springs, Oswego, Cherryvale, Coffeyville, Altamont, Mound Valley, and Independence, Kansas. At many of the evening services, large crowds made it nearly impossible for over half the people to get into the canvas tabernacle. Rev. Benjamin Young reported: "Wave after wave of Glory swept down upon us" and at times several altar services took place simultaneously causing the meetings to last as late as 2:00 A.M. Irwin in summing up his impressions exclaimed, "The people in southeast Kansas are in for the 'fire' and slant lightning."¹⁰ B. W. Young related in graphic expression his experience of the "fire." He stated:

I felt led to pray for the God of Fire. God got hold of me and the mighty cyclone came and I was prostrated. All at once the mighty wave struck me, . . . I rolled in the flames and the flames in me, and the building was a solid mass of fire; it was brighter than five suns could make it. It was broad daylight, but I couldn't see my wife. I saw Jesus then as plain as I see my family now, and as soon as I saw Him I melted in tenderness before Him. It was a sea of glass mingled with fire, and it settled into a white heat. It is only five days since I received the baptism of Fire.

Next the itinerate evangelists travelled to Healey and Junction City, Kansas, where it seemed the people swarmed to their meetings. From the account of Irwin, Healey and the small surrounding towns of

¹⁰ Benjamin H. Irwin, "Chetopa, Kansas," Ibid., September 2, 1896, 1; Benjamin Young, "Kansas, Mound Valley," Ibid., November 18, 1896, 5.

¹¹ Benjamin Wesley Young, The Experience, Accident And Obituary Of Benjamin Wesley Young, "My Experience," 5-7.

Dighton, Manning, Ransom, Shields, and Whiterock witnessed no fewer than "three cases of divine healing, ten cases of Bible regeneration, eleven reclaimations, sixteen cases of sanctification, and twenty-seven saints received the 'baptism of fire.'" At Junction City "one sister seeking the baptism was completely prostrated on the floor, and lay under the power of God from 10:00 P.M. until half past two in the morning." Once she recovered, she testified to a definite experience in such a way as to "amaze and confound the people."¹²

The final stops for this evangelistic trio during their 1896 campaign occurred at Zion and Bethel Chapels located eight and six miles respectively from Abilene, Kansas. A German pietistic group known as the River Brethren used these structures. At these protracted meetings Irwin reported that at any one service as many as fifty people sought sanctification or the "baptism of fire" at the altar. The Fire Baptized Evangelist also held meetings at Minco and Purcell, Oklahoma Territory, during 1896 and spent from November 15 to December 7 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.¹³

The people of the Winnipeg Interdenominational Holiness League with approximately 130 members warmly received Irwin. Mrs. Annie Douglas, the local leader, described their services as "seasons of uninterrupted victory" and reported that the Spirit of God visited

¹² Benjamin H. Irwin, "Brother Irwin's Letter [Healey, Kansas]," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, October 14, 1896, 1; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Kansas, Junction City," Ibid., November 11, 1896, 5.

¹³ Benjamin H. Irwin, "Minco, Indian Territory," Ibid., VI, June 17, 1896, 2; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Purcell, Oklahoma," Ibid., VII, July 1, 1896, 2; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Purcell, Indian Territory," Ibid., July 8, 1896, 1, 2.

their last gathering in such a way as to cause "many sinner in Zion [church members] to run from the building in panic." One Canadian asserted that Irwin appeared as a man "sent of God who had the two-fold baptism of Jesus resting on him." This proponent continued, "this evangelist has obviously thrown [away] the trammel of etiquette in order to fearlessly brave the stigma of singularity and uncover sin of every kind, in the Church and out of it." On the other hand, most holiness allies ardently opposed the teachings of Irwin and referred to them as "the third blessing heresy."¹⁴

Holiness periodicals nationwide published long articles warning their readers against the "fire." Rev. T. J. Smith avowed he encountered "bitter and deep rooted opposition to the doctrine of Christian perfection in Western Kansas where Irwin had held meetings. Smith stated "that one [probably Irwin] claimed to have passed through all the agonies of Gethsemane and all the horrors of Calvary." The writer continued, "these are the wildest enthusiasts I ever met and they are doing much damage to the cause of Bible holiness. We want to caution you against these people with their unnatural tone of voice, their unreasonable ideas on customs and dress."¹⁵

Irwin quickly responded to his critics by asserting: "Preachers who have lost their power and are not accomplishing anything for God

¹⁴Benjamin H. Irwin, "Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba," *Ibid.*, December 2, 1896, 5; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Winnipeg, Manitoba," *Ibid.*, December 16, 1896, 4; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Victory At Winnipeg," *Ibid.*, December 23, 1896, 1; Benjamin H. Irwin "South Carolina, Piedmont," *Ibid.*, December 30, 1896, 5.

¹⁵Joseph T. Smith, "From Kansas [Third Work Extravagance]," *The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness* (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIV, October 22, 1896, 15.

ought not to charge on the Fire Baptized Prophets. No people honor the Holy Ghost like those who are baptized with 'fire.'" He continued his defense in a pamphlet called Pyrophobia: A Morbid Dread of Fire. In this publication, the Apostle of Fire lashed out at his detractors by accusing them of acting as "self-appointed guardians of modern holiness." "They," he charged, "preach a tame, popular, smooth, and fashionable holiness." Irwin concluded that despite such opposition, editors, evangelists, pastors, missionaries, and laymen by the hundreds had received the "baptism of fire." He exclaimed, "The fiery baptism illuminates, penetrates, empowers, emboldens, unfolds, gives a tongue of flame. This is Christ's baptism and is two-fold in its nature."¹⁶

Rev. John M. Pike, a member of the National Camp Meeting Association and editor of The Way Of Faith, received daily correspondence inquiring into the doctrine of divine healing, the second coming of Christ, and the "fire." Pike revealed his support for these teachings by asserting: "Where true holiness is inculcated, the spiritual vision becomes clearer, and the Holy Spirit continues to push these subjects and the people demand light on them from their leaders."¹⁷

December, 1896 found Irwin in South Carolina where according to an eye-witness his meetings took many churches and their congregations

¹⁶ Benjamin H. Irwin, "Pyrophobia," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, October 28, 1896, 2; Benjamin H. Irwin, "Victory At Winnipeg," Ibid., December 23, 1896, 1. Irwin's Experience along with three other messages entitled Pyrophobia, Old Man, and New Man appeared in tract form and sold for two cents each. "Tracts! Tracts!!" Ibid., October 13, 1897, 5, 6.

¹⁷ John M. Pike, "Camp Meetings," Ibid., VII, July 29, 1896, 4.

in "cyclone fashion." His first engagement convened at Piedmont, where he used the Wesleyan Methodist Meeting House pastored by Rev. Andrew K. Willis, who after his "fire" experience became the first man to receive the "holy dance." As a result many people demonstrated a profound interest as manifested by seven individuals seeking entire sanctification at the first service; at the second service, twelve; and at the third service, eighteen--some for holiness and some for the "fire." These Wesleyan parishioners received Irwin's experience-oriented message in much the same Pied Piper way as did the Canadians and those along the banks of the Neosho River in Kansas. "They jumped, shouted, screamed and praised God for the 'fire' baptism."¹⁸

Those who accepted this experience included Richard B. Hays, Samuel J. McElroy, and a host of ministers and lay members at the Piedmont Meeting or in subsequent gatherings in South Carolina. After Irwin returned to his home in Lincoln, Nebraska, evangelists including Hays, Willis, and McElroy carried the fire baptized doctrine to Georgia where they held meetings at Elberton, Royston, Cannon, and other points.¹⁹

Rev. B. H. Irwin arrived back in the Abilene, Kansas, area in May, 1897, to preach to the River Brethren. His meetings assembled in Bethel, Zion, and Bell Springs Chapels. The editor of The Evangelical

¹⁸ Joseph H. King, "History of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church Chapter I," The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), IV, March 24, 1921, 4, 5; Benjamin H. Irwin, "South Carolina, Piedmont," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 30, 1896, 5.

¹⁹ Joseph H. King, "History of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church Chapter III," The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), IV, April 17, 1921, 10.

Visitor, the official organ of the Brethren in Christ Church, characterized Irwin as a man who "undoubtedly is fulfilling the call for which he has been anointed." In addition the editor revealed that the most striking feature in his preaching was the exposing of sin in all its forms and hues resulting in the conviction and conversion of sinners, reclaiming of backsliders, and the sanctification and fiilling with fire of believers."²⁰ By 1898 or 1899 Irwin drew a small group of former River Brethren together and organized them into a Fire Baptized Organization at Moonlight, Kansas.²¹

Early September, 1897, found Irwin back in central Iowa at the Olmitz Camp Meeting where he organized his followers into the first Fire Baptized Holiness Association. He, along with Rev. Oliver Fluke, travelled next to southeast Kansas where they were scheduled to lead the Thirteenth Annual Camp of the Neosho Valley Holiness Association. This gathering which lasted from September 24 to October 3 convened in Mound Valley where the leading ministers of the association attended. These included: "Brothers Benjamin W. Young, S. Homer Hipes, John F. Wolford, Sister Maggie, and others."²² Reports showed the whole proceedings as one "great and decisive victory after another." At least thirty persons received "radical, sky-blue conversions, fifty cases of sanctification, more than as many cases of divine healing, and

²⁰"Dickinson County Kansas," The Evangelical Visitor (Abilene, Kansas), X, May 15, 1897, 153; Maggie Frahm, "Experience," Ibid., June 15, 1897, 182, 183.

²¹Benjamin H. Irwin, "Editorial Correspondence," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, October 6, 1899, 1.

²²Oliver Fluke, "Iowa," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VIII, October 13, 1897, 5.

twenty-five or thirty cases of the 'baptism of fire.'" At their business meeting the Neosho Valley Association became the second group to accept "the constitution and basis of union of the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of Southern Iowa." Irwin estimated that at least a hundred members took part in this merger.²³

Not all citizens of Mound Valley and the surrounding communities accepted the doctrine and activities at these meetings. Editor L. Linn Albin of the Mound Valley Herald, sarcastically condemned the local association leaders:

The holy show at the city park is conducted by a people professing to be Holy, but those who are at the head of the show do not conduct themselves in that manner. A Holiness that does not make a man Christ like is a farce and a hypocrisy. . . . Christ said 'Follow me' but we fail to find in his teachings where Christ jumped, screamed or rooted in the dust, kicked up his heels and cavorted around like the men and women do at the park who profess to be holy and say they're His disciples. We voice the sentiment of our best people when we say--God deliver Mound Valley from this demoralizing, desecrating outfit at an early date.²⁴

As Irwin intensified his organizational activities, antagonism increased between his followers and the local denominationally oriented citizens of the rural communities where the Fire Baptized Evangelists most often centered their activities. In opposing the recognized religious bodies, one "fire" proponent asserted that he refused to be bound to the teachings of "men and churches." "God" he stated, "had revealed to him to fight against the ecclesiastical spirit that circumscribes the true

²³Benjamin H. Irwin, "Brother Irwin's Letter [Mound Valley Camp Meeting]", Ibid., October 20, 1897, 2.

²⁴"State Holiness Camp Meeting," Mound Valley (Kansas) Herald, September 17, 1897, 3; "Hallelujah All the Methodists Are Going to Hell," Ibid., October 1, 1897, 3; "The Holy Show at the City Park," Ibid., October 8, 1897, 5.

faith as did the inquisitional order and Popish bulls of the Middle Ages."²⁵

As a result of such statements, tension finally reached a breaking point between the two groups, and violence erupted in the form of an open physical assault against Irwin and his constituents at a camp meeting in Iowa. According to Rev. W. E. Stevenson, several Fire Baptized ministers received injuries in the assault--"Brother C. P. Sage, pistol whipped; Brother Oliver Fluke, hit in the face with a chair; Brother Hammer, struck in the face; and one sister was knocked down"--but not one blow was returned.²⁶

Irwin and his travelling companion, Oliver Fluke, closed the Mound Valley Camp on October 3, 1897, and journeyed some 260 miles to Thompson, Oklahoma Territory.²⁷ While in Oklahoma the evangelist organized a Fire Baptized Holiness Organization for that state and immediately following organized a Texas Association. Rev. G. M. Henson accepted the job as overseer in Oklahoma and Rev. A. R. Hodges in Texas. The Fire Baptized Evangelists returned to the Southeast in 1898 and conducted a successful meeting at Royston, Georgia. The results of this meeting culminated in the organization of the Georgia Fire Baptized Association with R. B. Hayes in charge. Next Irwin went to Williston, Florida, where he organized a Fire Baptized Association for that state with N. G. Pulliam as ruling elder. Thus, by early

²⁵Benjamin H. Irwin, "Winnipeg, Manitoba," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 16, 1896, 4.

²⁶W. E. Stevenson, "A Murderous Assault on B. H. Irwin," Ibid., August 12, 1896, 1.

²⁷Benjamin H. Irwin, "Iowa" Ibid., VIII, October 13, 1897, 5.

July, 1898, the charismatic Irwin in quick succession initiated state organizations in Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina. To that time periodic visits by the founder acted as the only binding force on these associations.²⁸

As a result Irwin called a general council which met in Anderson, South Carolina, from July 28 to August 8, 1898. During this series of meetings he and the leaders of the state associations worked out a plan to consolidate the local groups into a national organization known as the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of America.²⁹ These represen-

tatives included: J. F. Wolford, Kansas; G. M. Henson, Oklahoma; Allen Hodges, Texas; R. B. Hayes, Georgia; I. S. Ogle, Florida; W. S. Foxworth, South Carolina; S. D. Page, North Carolina; John H. Wine, Virginia; and Daniel Awrey of Tennessee.³⁰ These supporters selected

Irwin general overseer for life of this new denomination, and the delegates adopted a series of doctrinal points eventually published in a Constitution and General Rules pamphlet. Here the baptism of fire was clearly defended in the following statement: "We believe that the baptism with fire is a definite, scriptural experience, obtainable by faith on the part of the spirit-filled believer." In 1900 Irwin confirmed the importance of this doctrinal statement when he referred to

²⁸Synan, Old-Time Power, 87-89.

²⁹Joseph Hillery King, Yet Speaketh, Memoirs of the Late Bishop Joseph H. King, supplemented by Mrs. Blanche L. King, 86. Cited hereafter, King, Yet Speaketh.

³⁰J. H. King, "History Of The Fire Baptized Holiness Church, Chapter II," The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), IV, March 31, 1921, 10, 11.

it as the "MAGNA CHARTA" of the Fire Baptized Holiness Association.³¹

The delegates, in addition, passed rules forbidding all members of the new association from belonging to oath-bound or secret societies; to grow, sell, use or handle tobacco in any form; to use morphine; to wear outward adornments such as jewelry, gold, feathers, flowers, costly apparel, or ornamentation of any kind. Traditions added to these written rules also required followers to publicly confess their sins and make restitution in such matters. They also rejected the use of medical drugs, the eating of pork or any food prohibited by the dietary laws of the Old Testament, and the wearing of neckties by men. The final point in this basis of union statement admonished all Fire Baptized people to be ready "to witness on all occasions, . . . to what the Lord has done for us, especially to sanctification, divine healing, and the baptism with the Holy Ghost and 'fire.'" ³²

These ten days of organizational meetings were also held in conjunction with nightly religious services which, according to Joseph H. King, were marked by "great earnestness, fervency, boldness, and fanaticism."³³ A report first published in The Way Of Faith and later in The Christian Witness lent creditability to this charge of

³¹ Benjamin H. Irwin, "The Central Idea," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, November 10, 1899, 4; "Let the Sifting Continue," Ibid., December 1, 1899, 1; Constitution and General Rules of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church, 3.

³² Ibid., 2, 4, 7; Synan, Old-Time Power, 89, 90. These people refused to rely on doctors or their methods to such a degree that one young boy died as a result of his parents' not consenting for his having medical care. R. B. Hayes, "R. B. Hayes' Letter," Live Coals (Royston, Georgia), IV, September 12, 1906, n.p.

³³ King, Yet Speaketh, 86.

fanaticism when it quoted the new overseer, "We had 'music and dancing,' shouts of victory, hot thunder bolts and slant lightnings, billows of white fire, and devil shaking dynamite."³⁴ "Triumphant" music also played an important part in these conclaves and provided the believers with an acceptable way to express their dedication to the radical cause. "The Battle Hymn of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Association" rang loud and true when the congregation sang to the tune of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic":

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord
He is leading forth His people with His bright and flaming
sword.

He is sending forth the holy fire according to his word,
Our God is marching on.

Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah &c.³⁵

The vast majority of holiness people opposed the organization of this new church and the rhetoric its leaders employed, especially since its primary reason for existence centered around the propagation of the "fire." The conservatives argued this third experience relegated Christian perfection to an inferior state. A correspondent for The Christian Witness illustrated this point when he asserted these people go so far as to teach a "fourth experience (dynamiteism), come-outism, premillennialism, fire baptism, which when all put together, spells fanaticism."³⁶ Another contributor echoed this sentiment when he said:

³⁴Irwin's 'Fire Baptism' Movement," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, September 22, 1898, 15.

³⁵C. T. Stevens, comp., Blood and Fire Songs, No. 67.

³⁶L. N. Moore, "Danger To The Holiness Movement," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVII,

Today how many who call themselves Christians, hanker after noise, ocular demonstration, shouting, trances and bodily healing, and what they call 'fire,' and see more in these things than they do in refining of the Holy Ghost and the human spirit sweetened by grace, softened by love, quieted by the peace of God, and sitting clothed and in its right mind.³⁷

Nevertheless, such deriding accusations and admonitions seemed not to daunt the apostle of fire, and after the Anderson Convention closed Irwin again entered the evangelistic field with renewed vigor. During August, 1898, he presided over meetings in Iowa and in September returned to Mound Valley where he conducted the annually scheduled Southeastern Kansas Fire Baptized Holiness Camp. Here Irwin encountered, according to his own account, a battle over the ordinance question. As a result he accused the Kansans of first "denying the ordinances altogether and perverting the Scriptures in order to sustain their heretical notions." He continued, "They also refuse to worship Jesus; and openly deny the authority of the written word, teaching infallible spiritual guidance independent of the word of God."³⁸ Such flamboyant rhetoric caused B. W. Young, president of the local association, to withdraw the Southeastern Kansas Fire Baptized Holiness Association from the identity of B. H. Irwin and his national organization. By August, 1904, the Fire Baptized people of southeastern Kansas had become sufficiently organized to incorporate their

November 9, 1899, 3.

³⁷"Earthquakes, Cyclones and Fires In Which The Lord Is Not," *Ibid.*, XVI, October 13, 1898, 4. For a more complete attack on Irwin and his baptism of fire see Beverly Carradine, The Sanctified Life, 252-266.

³⁸"Brother Irwin's Letter," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, September 28, 1898, 1; *Ibid.*, October 12, 1898, 2.

organization under state law.³⁹

Fire Baptized Evangelists other than B. H. Irwin left the Anderson Convention no less determined to push the radical fight in all parts of the country. R. B. Hayes reported great successes in the extreme Southern states, especially Georgia, where he confirmed that "the tide of interest was rising higher and higher and a great tidal wave of salvation was sweeping over the country." At Powersville, Hayes demonstrated his determination to reach the common people when he preached twice on the streets and twice in schoolhouses in addition to his regularly scheduled meetings. As he stated "God wonderfully opened up the way for highway and hedge work in the slums of the cities and back alleys where they had never heard the story of full salvation." Mid-November found Hayes at Carlton, Georgia, in his eleventh tent meeting since the first of April, 1898. He further illustrated his dedication when he said, "We will hold one more [tent meeting] and then go right on in schoolhouses, halls, and streets, preaching till Jesus comes."⁴⁰

E. M. Murrill, an evangelist from Texas, stated that he had received the "fire" twelve months earlier and initiated a holiness

³⁹Incorporation Charter of The Fire Baptized Holiness Association of Southeastern Kansas, August 11, 1904, Secretary of State's Office, Topeka, Kansas.

⁴⁰R. B. Hayes, "Georgia, Carlton," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 12, 1898, 5; R. B. Hayes, "Powersville," Ibid., November 16, 1898, 5; R. B. Hayes, "Carlton," Ibid., November 30, 1898, 5. As early as the fall of 1898 Rev. Hayes reported that for over a year God had been telling him to buy what he termed a "gospel wagon" in order to carry his radical religion to the common people. By February, 1900, he had this vehicle in the field and reported that it facilitated his evangelistic work. R. B. Hayes, "Gospel Wagon Wanted," Ibid., October 19, 1898, 5; "William B. Martin, Frank E. Porter, and Stewart Irwin's Letter," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, February 23, 1900, 5.

mission in Fort Worth, Texas, in cooperation with Mrs. C. A. Drake.

One parishioner who attended this work acknowledged his adoration for God by testifying that after he had received full salvation, he injured his back in an accident. He asked the leaders at the mission to anoint him with oil for healing and according to his testimony, while on his knees at the altar, he received instantaneous and wonderful healing and the pain disappeared.⁴¹

Other Fire Baptized workers reported unprecedented successes.

John E. Dull labored in Iowa, and while at Coalfield at least twenty persons sought and "definitely received the 'fire.'" Dull organized these followers into a Fire Baptized Class. As a result the superintendent of the Oskaloosa Quarterly Meeting for the Quaker Church attended one of these services and admonished Dull "to desist from teaching the baptism of fire." The evangelist refused and according to his report when the superintendent "pulled the discipline on him" he leaped and shouted as he exclaimed, "Do what you think best. We bear this testimony that we please God." In a similar encounter at Smokey Hollow, Iowa, Rev. Dull characterized his former Quaker brethren as preachers of a "moonshine holiness that does not get anybody sanctified, they fight the fire, eat hog, and belong to the Iowa State Holiness Association, an apostate institution that fights divine healing, and the premillennial second coming of Jesus and the baptism

⁴¹E. M. Murrill, "What Of The Fire?" The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 26, 1898, 2; Edward C. Hudson, "A New Testimony," Ibid., November 16, 1898, 5. The enthusiasm of Rev. E. Murrill was greatly strengthened on November 14, 1898, when he and Mrs. C. A. Drake were united in marriage. He stated, "She is one of the best women on earth and you know I am a happy man." E. M. Murrill, "Holiness Mission at Ft. Worth, Texas," Ibid., November 23, 1898, 1.

of fire." Harassment only intensified the desire of these radicals to spread the gospel of the "fire."⁴²

Rev. N. G. Pulliam confirmed while in Eastman, Georgia, that rowdies threw pine knots at the meeting house after his wife had preached "under the power and demonstration of the blessed Holy Ghost" but as he said, "perfect love casteth out all fear, and we conducted the service to the Glory of God. The meeting closed in good order." They next went to Rhine for about ten days then on to McRae for two weeks and to the south part of Georgia on their way to Florida.⁴³

These advocates generally travelled by train from one appointment to another and one evangelist revealed his total preoccupation with the "fire." He confirmed that as he travelled he felt:

. . . enveloped with the 'holy fire.' The noise of the engine seemed to sound notes of praise to God and the clatter of the wheels beneath the cars seemed to be saying glory to God, Hallelujah. The coaches themselves were fire lighted, and the wheels beneath seemed to be wheels of fire. Fire! Fire! Holy Fire!!!⁴⁴

The second annual general conference of the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of America constituted one of the more important events during 1899. This assemblage lasted from April 1 through April 10 in Royston, Georgia, where a sizable amount of business took place and the general overseer, B. H. Irwin, further tightened his hold on the national movement. By October 6, 1899, he had purchased a printing press and set it up at his own residence in Lincoln, Nebraska, where

⁴²John E. Dull, "Iowa, Coalfield," Ibid., October 26, 1898, 5.

⁴³N. G. Pulliam, "A Good Meeting," Ibid., November 16, 1898, 1.

⁴⁴"Editorial, Doctrinal Differences," The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), XIII, May 22, 1930, 8.

he published Live Coals of Fire, the first periodical dedicated to the "fire." This sheet appeared semi-monthly with an annual subscription price of one dollar and in a newsprint format of eight pages eleven inches by fifteen inches. From the start of this endeavor Thomas Bickley acted as plant foreman while Albert E. Robinson; Miss Dovie Jordan; Stewart Irwin, his son; and Anna M. Irwin, his wife, assisted Irwin in his new role as editor.⁴⁵

This publication provided the leadership of the movement with an uncensored propaganda outlet to the public. Meeting reports appeared from all over the Eastern half of North America--Moonlight, Kansas; Olmitz, Iowa; Manitoba and Ontario, Canada; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Culpepper, Virginia; Central, South Carolina; Royston, Georgia; Marshall, Texas; Cherokee, Oklahoma Territory; and many other locales. These gatherings often took place in abandoned store buildings, country schoolhouses, or county courthouses. But by early January, 1900, at least two new churches had been built and dedicated to the Fire Baptized cause.⁴⁶ Typical services in these structures showed extreme emotionalism as witnessed in an editorial which appeared in Live Coals

⁴⁵ Joseph E. Campbell, The Pentecostal Holiness Church 1898-1948, Its Background And History, Presenting complete background material which adequately explains the existence of this organization, also the existence of other kindred Pentecostal and Holiness groups, as an essential and integral part of the total church set-up, 200, 526. Cited hereafter, Campbell, Pentecostal Holiness Church. "In The South," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, January 12, 1900, 4; "Our Working Force," Ibid., October 20, 1899, 4.

⁴⁶ "In The Southland," Ibid., January 12, 1900, 4; "Oliver Fluke's Chapel," Ibid., April 6, 1900, 4. Rev. Charles Croft, a travelling companion of B. W. Young, was sanctified in a meeting in the Labette County Courthouse at Oswego, Kansas, in March, 1898, and received the fire in April, 1898 near Dixie, Oklahoma Territory. "Crowning Gift from Heaven," The Apostolic Faith (Topeka, Kansas), 1, June 7, 1899, 5.

during October, 1899. Rev. Irwin confirmed that some parishioners got "the holy screams, and others the holy laugh: some leaped and jumped while others fell prostrate under the power of God. Some got the 'jerks' while others had sudden and long continued attacks of the hot chills."⁴⁷

Such extreme reactions simultaneously accompanied the progressive trend in the movement toward outlandish and unscriptural teachings. These teachings included dynamite or power taught as a fourth experience followed in quick succession by lyddite and some adherers even claimed selenite and oxynite (other forms of high explosives). B. H. Irwin as the leading Fire Baptized Evangelist revealed his support for the dynamite as early as August, 1899, in a sermon preached at Moonlight, Kansas. The speaker relied on the Bible for confirmation when he quoted from Acts 1:8 "But ye shall receive power (dynamite)." Romans 1:16 "For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the power (dynamite) of God unto salvation." He employed this misuse of scripture to induce all spirit-filled believers to seek, find, and witness to this psychic adventure.⁴⁸

The testimony of Rev. Jesse Bathurst of Ness City, Kansas, illustrated this point when he described his reception of the dynamite. Bathurst avowed that while in meditation a little round sphere which looked like a bullet appeared to him. At that time he supposedly developed the spiritual hiccups; his mouth flew open and "in went the

⁴⁷"Editorial Correspondence," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, October 27, 1899, 1.

⁴⁸"The Dynamite," Ibid., November 10, 1899, 2.

little ball of pure irresistible dynamite." He continued, "God showed me that that was when I received the heavenly dynamite."⁴⁹

Another leader, J. H. King, also voiced support for all that the association expounded when he stated that he had received both the dynamite and lyddite. In confirming the reality of this statement King asserted, "There is no mistake of our reception of it. For we sought definitely, believed definitely, and received definitely, and God was just as definite in giving as we were in receiving." Sarah M. Payne, a worker in the Live Coals office added to this chemical jargon the experiences of selenite and oxynite.⁵⁰ A. M. Hills expressed the feelings of the majority of holiness people when he said, "the Fire Baptized advocates should seek at least one more blessing, the blessing of common sense."⁵¹

Nevertheless, the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of America continued to spread its sphere of influence at least until sometime during the summer of 1900. As late as June the official periodical showed 140 full time evangelists scattered over twenty-three states or territories and in two Canadian provinces.⁵² This steady outreach made it possible for the association to make plans to send foreign missionaries, first to Cuba and later to South Africa. As early as

⁴⁹"Jesse Bathurst's Letter," Ibid., November 10, 1899, 5.

⁵⁰ Joseph Hillery King, "Our Sojourn In Toronto," Ibid., May 4, 1900, 1; Joseph Hillery King, "Sarah M. Payne," Ibid., June 1, 1900, 4.

⁵¹A. M. Hills, "Fanaticism Among Holiness People," The Holiness Advocate (Goldsboro, North Carolina), III, April 1, 1903, 5.

⁵²"Official List Of Ordained Evangelists," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, June 15, 1900, 4.

November, 1899, Live Coals reported that "God had called" Rev. John E. Dull to go to Cuba as the first Fire Baptized foreign missionary. His schedule called for him to reach Havana by January 1, 1900, and there gradually expand his work over the entire island. In addition, other association evangelists including Stewart T. Irwin revealed that they felt called to go to South Africa on or before March 15, 1900.⁵³

Seventy-five acres of land at Benaiah, Tennessee, was donated by Dollie Lawson for a training school designated as the School of the Prophets where outgoing missionaries and local pastors were to be educated. According to Irwin, this site forty miles north of Chattanooga and seventy miles southwest of Knoxville constituted one of "the finest spots in America." By November, 1899, Irwin announced plans to construct a building on this site capable of accommodating 250 students, and he announced he needed five thousand dollars for this project. Money steadily arrived until the Fire Baptized Evangelist could report one thousand dollars on hand, one thousand promised, and a balance of three thousand still needed. School actually started without the building, and Emma DeFriece acted as teacher until June 1, 1900.⁵⁴

This emerging denomination received an almost fatal blow when Benjamin H. Irwin "manifested sin" by living a double life. This first

⁵³"Our Cuban Work," Ibid., November 3, 1899, 4; "Our Foreign Missionaries," Ibid., December 15, 1899, 8; "Our Missionaries To Africa," Ibid., December 29, 1899, 4; "Our African Missionaries," Ibid., April 6, 1900, 5.

⁵⁴"The School Of The Prophets," Ibid., November 3, 1899, 6; "School Of The Prophets," Ibid., November 10, 1899, 4; "Editorial Correspondence, The School Of The Prophets, Monthly Report," Ibid., February 23, 1900, 2. All those who attended the school were required to do physical work such as plow corn, hoe cotton, dig potatoes, wash clothes or milk the cows. Ibid., November 10, 1899, 4.

came to light after Irwin was arrested for drunkenness and bad conduct in Kansas City, Missouri. Here a local paper carried this story on the front page where his baggage pictured with the insignia, "Blood and Fire and Holiness Unto the Lord," made sensational headlines. As a result in June, 1900, Irwin contacted Rev. Joseph H. King who had been acting Live Coals editor since April of the same year and asked him to assume the complete leadership of the paper and stricken organization.⁵⁵

King, in response, called a special session of the General Council which convened at Olmitz, Iowa, on June 20 and lasted till July 2, 1900. After several ballotings on the last day the delegates elected Joseph Hillery King the second overseer of the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of America. The shock of Irwin's spiritual fall deeply affected the general membership of the organization he had initiated. Once the cohesive power Irwin had exercised over the movement was removed, the group began to disintegrate as fast as it had been built up. By 1904 all that remained of the national organization was centered in Georgia and the Carolinas, but by January 1905, a counter movement emerged to reestablish the work in Iowa, Oklahoma, and western Kansas. The ministers numbered about sixty at that time.⁵⁶

⁵⁵"A Desert Place Apart," Ibid., April 20, 1900, 4; Samuel J. Phoebus, "The Fire Baptized Holiness Church, Its History And Practices," Bachelor of Theology Degree (New York: The Biblical Seminary in New York, 1949).

⁵⁶"Official List Of The Fire Baptized Holiness Church," Live Coals (Royston, Georgia), III, January 11, 1905, 3. Defections from the movement were illustrated when the Fire Baptized Ekklesia Society of Kansas City, Kansas, which had been chartered under state law as early as July, 1899, petitioned May 9, 1900, to drop the name Fire Baptized from their charter. Incorporation Charter Of The Fire Baptized

One seldom recognized contribution of the Fire Baptized Association of America lay in its early acceptance of racial equality for blacks. The Apostle of Fire substantiated this point when he elevated several Negroes to the official status of evangelist in his group. These included: William E. Fuller from Mountville, ruling elder for the Colored Fire Baptized Association of South Carolina; Alice M. McNeil from Fayetteville, ruling elder from North Carolina; Isaac Gamble from Kingstree, South Carolina; Uncle Powell Woodbury from Marion, South Carolina. Irwin also held meetings in cooperation with the African Methodist Episcopal Church in his hometown of Lincoln, Nebraska.⁵⁷

Another characteristic in the life of the Fire Baptized Movement revolved around the political rise of William Jennings Bryan and his agrarian populism. This phenomenon drew its grass roots support from the same general class of people and geographical area as did Irwin's cause. Both movements acted as protests against the Eastern establishment. As Tom Watson and Bryan assaulted the banking interests of Wall Street and the monopoly power of big business, the holiness radicals assailed what they perceived to be the tyranny and ecclesiastical power of the Methodist hierarchy. Thus, this religious revolt

Ekklesia Society, Kansas City, Kansas, May 9, 1900, Secretary of State's Office, Topeka, Kansas.

⁵⁷"Official List Of Ordained Evangelists," Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, December 1, 1899, 8; "A Whirlwind From The North," Ibid., 2. By 1900 William E. Fuller initiated as many as fifty churches, and in 1905 he served as assistant general overseer and trustee on the executive board of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church. "Official List Of The Fire-Baptized Holiness Church," Live Coals (Royston, Georgia), 111, January 11, 1905, 3.

paralleled the political and economic revolt of populism.⁵⁸

A leading twentieth-century pentecostal historian has rightly identified the primary contribution of the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of America to its doctrinal belief in a separate and subsequent baptism of the Holy Ghost and "fire." This teaching facilitated a climate among the holiness people by 1906 which made it easy for them to accept the neo-pentecostal baptism with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues. By 1911 the pentecostal baptism had acted as a primary catalyst in drawing together what remained of the Irwin movement and another holiness group known as the Pentecostal Holiness Church which also primarily centered its activity in the deep South. These two groups merged on January 31, 1911, and adopted the name Pentecostal Holiness Church.⁵⁹

A small faction of the Fire Baptized people opposed this merger because many of their brethren began to adopt the practices of the more liberal Pentecostal Holiness Church of North Carolina. Some leaders who took part in the merger illustrated this point when they relaxed their standards on wearing neckties and eating pork. The more radical Fire Baptized opposed this trend because they felt it led to a spirit of worldliness in the church. As a result, at Penbroke, North Carolina, on October 21, 1916, J. J. Carter along with several other former Fire Baptized Evangelists led a small secession from the larger Pentecostal Holiness Church.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Vinson Synan, The Holiness Pentecostal Movement In The United States, 53.

⁵⁹Synan, Old-Time Power, 99, 129-131.

⁶⁰Ibid., 133, 134.

The only faction of the initial Fire Baptized work virtually unaffected by the fall of B. H. Irwin was the independent South-eastern Kansas Fire Baptized Association which split with Irwin in 1898 over the ordinance question. At that time these proponents only accepted the subsequent baptism of "fire" but rejected the rest of Irwinism. As a result they continued to expand the departmental work of their association and to gain numerical strength slowly. They founded an orphanage in the fall of 1919 and purchased their own camp ground in 1926. In 1949 they also initiated a state accredited secondary school one mile south of Independence, Kansas. At the 1948 Annual Business Meeting the group reported a weekly Sunday School attendance of 1,787 dispersed among thirty-nine churches. By 1948 this organization finally banned from the church pulpits the doctrine of the "fire" as a third work and changed their name to the Fire Baptized Holiness Church.⁶¹

⁶¹"Orphans' Home," The Two Fires (Cherryvale, Kansas), XII, February 15, 1920, 5; "Orphan Home Business Meeting," Ibid., 6; Craig Fankhauser, "A History of the Independence Bible College," May 14, 1974, Research paper prepared for History: Theory and Practice (Pittsburg, Kansas: Pittsburg State University, 1974); "Historical Issue A Statistical Report Of The Fire Baptized Holiness Church," The Flaming Sword (Bellflower, Missouri and Tabor, Iowa), XIV, April 1, 1948, 16, 17.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMERGENCE OF HOLINESS DENOMINATIONS

Many individuals by the early 1900s mistakenly identified all "holiness" people with either the radical independent revival of the 1880s or Irwinism which plagued the general movement from 1895 to 1900. These factions brought great hardship on the general body of holiness people who continued to identify with and profess complete loyalty to the established churches. At the same time the leaders of official Methodism continued to pressure the holiness advocates to accept a changing church. One Methodist loyalist as a supporter of Wesleyan perfectionism illustrated their dilemma when he exclaimed, "We are in the midst of fearful extremes--deadism, formalism, fanaticism, and wild-fire. These are all bad enough, and one about as bad as the other."¹

As early as the General Conference of 1894 the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South set the tone of future dealings with the holiness people. The bishops warned:

There has spring up among us a party with holiness as a watchword; they have holiness associations, holiness meetings, holiness preachers, holiness evangelists, and holiness property. Religious experience is represented as if it consists of only two steps, the first step out of condemnation into peace and the next step into Christian perfection. . . . We do not question the sincerity and zeal of these brethren; we desire the church to

¹ John S. Gardner, "Center City Fifth Sunday Holiness Meeting July 27-28," Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, July 12, 1906, 9.

profit by their earnest preaching and godly example; but we deplore their teaching and methods in so far as they claim a monopoly on the experience, practice, and advocacy of holiness, and separate themselves from the body of ministers and disciples.²

The 1896 South Carolina Annual Conference followed the General Conference lead when it moved to restrict the holiness movement by passing a resolution which barred evangelists from moving from one point to another. This ruling, if obeyed, would have effectively crippled the ability of holiness leaders to carry their perfectionist message to the people.³ When the next General Conference for the Southern Church met in Baltimore, Maryland, during May and June, 1898, the ministers only reenforced this ruling:

Any travelling or local preacher or layman who shall hold public religious services within the bounds of any mission, circuit or station, when requested by the preacher in charge not to hold such services, shall be deemed guilty of imprudent conduct, and shall be dealt with as the law provides in such cases.⁴

Holiness evangelists knew full well the importance of this paragraph and wasted little time in responding. Rev. Henry Clay Morrison, founder of Asbury Seminary and editor of the widely circulated periodical, Pentecostal Herald, argued: "If we are called of God to be evangelists, we would be guilty of treason . . . were we to suppress his testimony . . . but acting as before God, and following the

²"Pastoral Address," Journal of the General Conference, 1894, 25; G. W. Wilson, "Holiness Vs. Southern Methodist Bishops," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, June 7, 1894, 2, 3; "Holiness Derided," Ibid., VII, December 12, 1889, 4.

³"Unauthorized Evangelists," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, January 1, 1896, 4.

⁴H. L. Frey, "Paragraph 302," The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, June 15, 1898, 9.

dictates of eternal truth and justice, we dare not be silent."⁵

No doubt the action of the 1898 General Conference brought painful memories to H. C. Morrison who had been expelled from the church in 1896 for violating a similar resolution passed by the Northwest Texas Annual Conference. The circumstances in that case revolved around Morrison's being scheduled to oversee an interdenominational holiness camp meeting at Dublin, Texas, at which time the local Methodist officials warned him not to honor the appointment. The evangelist, after reflecting on the situation, asserted, "I was there under divine leadership, and, however much I might regret trouble in the church, I was not free to leave." The committee of local Methodist preachers preferred charges against him and Morrison was expelled from the church. The evangelist stated that the most ironic thing about the whole incident lay in the fact that the wife of one of the accusing preachers attended the camp while her husband busied himself in drawing up official accusations. She saw the necessity of heart purity and instantaneously received the sanctifying experience. "She shouted and testified with great joy" to the very thing her husband labored to destroy.⁶

⁵Ibid.; G. W. Stone, "What Shall Be Done? A Layman's View," Ibid., June 29, 1898, 4; J. W. Harris, "The New Law A Pastor's View," Ibid.; "The Methodist Popery Of The South," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XV, March 4, 1897, 8.

⁶"We Forbade Him," Beulah Christian (Providence, Rhode Island), V, November, 1896, 2. H. C. Morrison appealed his expulsion to the Kentucky Annual Conference of which he was a member and in turn the conference reinstated him into the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. However, eight years later basically the same issue surfaced but the officials of the church let the situation die down without official action. "Holiness In The M. E. Church, South," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago),

Rev. Bud Robinson referred to the ensuing controversy in its entirety as the "holiness war." As one holiness leader put it, he could no longer stay in the "old ship" or church as advised because each time the "'great iron wheel' makes a revolution some good holiness brother's head falls off, not because they preach holiness; oh, no, perish the thought. But after trying some of them for twenty years, they find they are inefficient."⁷

Rev. W. M. Adams when charged with "inefficiency" by the Northwest Texas Conference presented a summation of his twenty years "labor of love" for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South before a full session of 260 ministers at that conference. Adams opened his defense by stating that he had received the second blessing on July 30, 1885. Since that time, he reported 1,761 confessed conversions, 68 sanctifications, 1,376 taken into membership along with 221 infant baptisms. When Adams concluded his defense, he challenged any of the ministers present to an equal report. Not one minister responded. Since, however, the conference had voted three years earlier, 140 to 51 against the advocacy of "second blessing holiness," Adams ask that his name be honorably withdrawn from the Methodist ministry. Other ministers expelled or who simply withdrew included: Robert Lee Harris, Bud Robinson, W. C. Wilson, E. C. DeJernett, Phineas Franklin Bresee, and Martin Wells Knapp.⁸

n.s. XV, February 18, 1897, 8.

⁷J. S. Normandy, "Greenville, Texas," The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, March 30, 1898, 6.

⁸W. M. Adams, "Temple, Texas," Ibid., January 12, 1898, 5; Bud Robinson, Sunshine And Smiles, Life Story, Flash Lights, Sayings And Sermons, 75.

Such men once removed from the established churches used independent city missions as early as the 1880s to propagate the doctrine of holiness. Street meetings, homes for fallen women, children's homes, and evangelist training schools took root. These endeavors usually revolved around a plain but neat hall rented in a central location in a large inner city. Rows of folding chairs provided adequate seating where a "spirit directed" minister figuratively led his congregation to the feet of Jesus. As one observer commented, "There is nothing in such a place to pamper pride, nothing to hinder the right of way of the evangelist, nothing to divert the attention of the hearers." In other words apostolic simplicity, efficiency, and directness marked the physical as well as the spiritual atmosphere. One of the earliest such works among the conservative holiness people flourished in California in the San Francisco Bay Area.⁹

Here the Pacific Coast Holiness Association ran a centrally located rescue mission referred to as the Adelphi Mission which had an auditorium with a capacity of over five hundred people; room for their weekly periodical, Pacific Herald Of Holiness; book and tract depository; and a training home.¹⁰ Services conducted daily in the main

⁹"The McCall Mission," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), VI, December 1, 1887, 2.

¹⁰"New Headquarters In San Francisco," Ibid., III, December 12, 1884, 2. The distinctly holiness work in central California began in 1881 under the combined auspices of the Central California Holiness Association and the Southern California Holiness Association. Jointly these groups published the Pacific Herald Of Holiness with A. Coplin as editor. By 1883 Coplin separated himself from the editorship of the Pacific Herald and founded The Holiness Evangelist, a periodical published in Oakland and dedicated to the establishment of independent holiness churches. Mrs. S. Richards Boyle, "On The Pacific," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXI, March, 1883,

auditorium consisted of prayer meetings at noon and evening services at seven with three services scheduled on the Sabbath. They leased this facility for two years at \$100 a month, and according to one participant their "heavenly Father supplied the necessary funds just as they were needed."¹¹

A typical Sabbath opened at nine o'clock in the main hall with services that concluded with an eleven o'clock street meeting. The large congregation marched through the central San Francisco district singing "Are You Washed in the Blood of the Lamb?" This usually drew from three to four hundred onlookers who listened attentively while the minister admonished them to seek God. After the speaker or "salvationists," as the street people called them, finished, the mission band divided into small groups to tell the gospel story of full redemption. One contributor reported that each worker as a "soldier of the cross" demonstrated his effectiveness "on the wharfs, on the streets, or in the hall." These soldiers confirmed that their Sabbath day street evangelism resulted in no less than twelve souls saved. Such results constituted the rule rather than the exception--Monday night eight more souls joined the ranks, with six or seven on Tuesday.¹²

New converts were urged to devote as much time as possible to holiness mission work. Their dedication in "rescuing the fallen,

96, 97; A. Coplin, "The Church Of Christ," The Holiness Evangelist (Oakland, California), V, September 1, 1888, 8.

¹¹"Band Reports," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 3; O. Brewer, "Holiness Work on the Pacific Coast," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), II, March, 1885, 74.

¹²"Band Reports," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 3; "Local Bands," Ibid., V, June 17, 1886, 3.

outcast and wayward ones" greatly strengthened the cause of Wesleyan perfectionism, and at the same time put "the carnal church to shame."¹³

Rev. George Newton, editor of the Pacific Herald, organized these proponents into what he called the Army of the Lord. As members of the Pacific Holiness Association they patterned their extra ecclesiastical endeavor after the Salvation Army with the combined "freedom, truth, and spirit of the free holiness work."¹⁴ This group often cooperated with the Salvation Army. On Thanksgiving Day in 1884 Mrs. "Major" Wells of the Army led a typical union gathering in Stockton, California, where "twelve or thirteen believers stepped into the fountain and were cleansed from all sin."¹⁵

The founder and leader of the Salvation Army, "General" William Booth, first started his evangelist work among the poor on the east side of London, England, in 1865. From this work emerged the sprawling Salvation Army. By 1894 the Army boasted "shelters, refuges, food deposits, sisterhoods and brotherhoods." It reported nearly eleven thousand full-time officers who worked in thirty-eight countries among people speaking thirty-four different languages where 4,595 societies, corps, and posts existed. The participants held some 2,098,631 meetings annually, plus they visited in 2,747,576 homes yearly. Their official publication, The War Cry, along with other distributed literature amounted to approximately 43,682,596 individual issues. Use

¹³"Mission Work on Holiness Line," Ibid., IV, March 20, 1885, 2.

¹⁴George Newton, "In California," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), VI, November, 1888, 44.

¹⁵"Grand Thanksgiving Day in Stockton for the Holiness Band," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 4.

of drums and tamberines served as advertising media to attract large crowds of people. One observer commented that these followers of Christ did not merely sing "'Hold the Fort for I Am Coming' they in turn stormed the fort and battered down the ramparts of hell, and claimed to be more than conquerors through Him that loved them."¹⁶

Prior to 1900 independent holiness mission work similar to that done at the Adelphi Mission in San Francisco, gained momentum in a majority of the major cities of America. A few of these dedicated volunteer activities included: Faith Home, Los Angeles; McCall Mission, Jamestown, New York; Bethel Mission, Topeka; Oliver Gospel Mission, Columbia, South Carolina; Door of Hope, Fort Worth, Texas; Holiness Mission, Temple, Texas; Vanguard Mission, The Temple, and Hephzeibah Rescue Home, St. Louis; Wells Street Mission, Chicago; Revivalist Chapel and Christian Temperance Union Mission, Cincinnati.¹⁷

¹⁶ "The Salvation Army," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXIII, November, 1880, 152; "The Salvation Army," Ibid., XXXV, September, 1881, 86; "The Great Success Of The Salvation Army," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), XII, June 21, 1894, 12, 13; "The Salvation Army," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, January 29, 1896, 4.

¹⁷ Washburn, History and Reminiscences, 26-57; "The McCall Mission," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), VI, December 1, 1887, 2; "Bethel," The Apostolic Faith (Topeka, Kansas), I, March 22, 1899, 8; "Monthly Report," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, November 6, 1895, 5; "Door Of Hope Mission, Forth Worth, Texas," Ibid., VII, November 25, 1896, 2; "Temple Texas Holiness Mission," The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, March 16, 1898, 15; "Vanguard Mission," The Vanguard (St. Louis, Missouri), VIII, January 30, 1889, 1; "The Temple At St. Louis," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 30, 1900, 12; E. E. Otto, "The Hephzeibah Rescue Home's Work In St. Louis," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, February 10, 1898, 4, 5; "Wells Street Mission," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), VI, June, 1888, 6; "The Revivalist Chapel," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, February 1, 1900, 15; "Jennie Casseday

Almost all of these rescue works struggled to meet the immediate needs of the people around them. Rev. S. Willie oversaw the Door of Hope Mission in an area of Fort Worth, Texas, referred to as "Hell's Half Acre" where within three years of its inception four hundred individuals confessed conversion; seventy-five sanctifications were recorded; some five thousand meals were served, and about 25,000 men and boys sheltered on cold nights.¹⁸ In 1893 Mrs. E. E. Otto assisted by Rev. Beverly Carradine founded the Hephzeibah Rescue Home and Purity Work in St. Louis, Missouri. Over six hundred young women passed through this institution during its first five years. Out of that number 321 accepted Christ and when they returned to general society their lives "testified to the transforming power of God." Mrs. Otto attributed her success in "reaching and establishing girls, who had lost their way, to the fact that all the workers at the home stressed the importance of second blessing holiness." A monthly periodical, Hephzeibah Home Herald, also appeared in the interest of the home and holiness rescue work.¹⁹ The Oliver Gospel Mission in Columbia, South Carolina, came about as a result of the death in August, 1891, of R. C. Oliver who left his personal estate to found a nondenominational holiness mission.²⁰

Holiness Mission," Ibid., X, September, 1896, 6.

¹⁸ F. H. Coppedge, "Door Of Hope Mission, Fort Worth," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, November 25, 1896, 2.

¹⁹ E. E. Otto, "The Hephzeibah Rescue Home's Work In St. Louis," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, February 10, 1898, 4, 5; Ibid., April 7, 1898, 13.

²⁰ Albert Deems Betts, History Of South Carolina Methodism, 414;

Here Rev. J. E. Duren carried on all the specialized activities of a church. Besides preaching the gospel at twenty-eight regularly scheduled services in May, 1896, Pastor Duren, visited in eighty private homes, the state prison, and performed two weddings and one funeral.²¹

This slum evangelist focused his primary efforts on the poor and down trodden. He asserted, "Beneath their rags often beat hearts purified by the precious blood of the Son of God; these have an inheritance beyond the river." He further revealed his compassion for the poor in a verse of poetry which is reminiscent of the Wesleyan Holy Club:

Go forth among the poor,
Thy pathway leadeth there;
Thy gentle voice may soothe their pain
And blunt the thorns of care.²²

By February, 1896, Duren organized eight missionaries into the Oliver Gospel Missionary Society which assisted the pastor in helping the poor and needy. Their rescue work also included a home for girls which accommodated twenty-three and always ran at full capacity.²³

As former derelicts themselves, the workers at such missions toiled unceasingly in the prohibition movement. J. M. Pike, editor of The Way Of Faith published by the Oliver Gospel Mission ran graphic articles

"A Kindly Word From Sister Oliver," The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, June 24, 1896, 2.

²¹J. E. Duren, "Monthly Report Of Oliver Gospel Mission For May," Ibid., June 10, 1896, 5.

²²J. E. Duren, "City Missionary's Report," Ibid., December 4, 1895, 5.

²³J. E. Duren, "Oliver Gospel Mission Monthly Report," Ibid., February 12, 1896, 5; Ibid., IX, December 7, 1898, 4.

devoted to the abolition of the liquor traffic.²⁴ Other holiness publications such as The Vanguard, St. Louis, Missouri; Law and Gospel, Hutchinson, Kansas; and Fire And Hammer, Topeka, Kansas, admonished their readers to stand united against the sale of all intoxicating beverages. This admonition appeared in a pamphlet, Prohibition A Bible Doctrine, which Law and Gospel sold for twenty-five cents a hundred. At the same time The Vanguard instructed its subscribers in the name of Christian purity to vote for temperance political candidates. The Holiness War News at Irving, Kansas, compared the national temperance movement of the 1880s and 1890s to the moral outcry of the pre-Civil War antislavery agitation:

If you will watch the statistics, the Prohibition Party is coming with four times the celerity. American slavery was a pet lamb as compared with this red dragon. All the families which have been robbed of fathers and brothers and sons by the rum traffic; all the States of the Union that have been despoiled of their mightiest men; all the churches of Jesus Christ which find the chief obstacle to the advancement of religion in the appetite for strong drinks; and all the intelligence, and all the enthusiasm of the land will yet pack itself into an avalanche that will come crushing down upon this the worst evil that ever afflicted a nation.²⁵

Those who labored in the inner cities also took an active interest in the propagation of Bible holiness in foreign lands. Bishop William

²⁴Gospel Temperance Union Supplement To The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, March 25, 1896, 1-16.

²⁵A. Smith "Vote Prohibition," The Vanguard (St. Louis, Missouri), VIII, January 30, 1889, 3; "Prohibition A Bible Doctrine," Law and Gospel (Hutchinson, Kansas), II, October, 1886, 80; "Rum, Rum," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), December, 1883, 4; T. De Witt Talmage, "Prohibition War, National Prohibition," Holiness War News (Irving, Kansas), I, January, 1891, 4; Nettie Arnold, "Our National Curse," Ibid., July 1891, 4; "An Irrepressible Conflict Upon Us," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, June 18, 1891, n.p.

Taylor of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the first missionary to combine the work of holiness and a totally self-supporting program. Taylor first conceived the idea of self-supporting work while in California where he labored from 1849 to 1856 among the miners and gamblers of the California gold rush. This evangelist preached in rented halls, private homes, and most often in the streets. In 1870 Taylor journeyed to India where he helped to organize the South India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He made his most lasting contribution to the cause of Wesleyan holiness as the first Methodist Missionary Bishop to Africa.²⁶

Taylor and his associates in Africa inaugurated the idea of dividing their forces into two equal companies in order to establish a chain of fifteen to twenty holiness missions across the continent. One party entered at Loanda on the west coast under the leadership of William Taylor and travelled toward Tanganyika Lake, a distance of about 2,500 miles. Dr. W. R. Summers headed the other group which consisted of twenty-two white missionaries, eight men and fourteen women, along with their fifteen children and carriers. They travelled from the east

²⁶"William Taylor And His Continental Diocese," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, April 17, 1885, 1. Taylor did not stay for any length of time at one mission station. His travelling expenses plus the support of his family in the states constituted a large expenditure each year which the bishop covered through the sale of his many publications. These dealt mainly with his extensive travels and included: Adventures in South Africa, Four Years Campaign in India, Ten Years Self Support Missions, Our South American Cousins, Seven Years Street Preaching. "Departure Of Missionaries," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXI, November, 1879, 149, 150; William Taylor, "William Taylor's Workers," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Boston), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 142; "Publications Of Bishop Wm. Taylor," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, October, 1885, 48.

coast up the Cuanza River, a distance of 120 miles. At this point they journeyed another one thousand miles on foot into central Africa where they joined the Taylor party. Along the way each group established holiness mission stations. Two missionaries remained behind at each of these respective sites where they made arrangements for the physical development of the station.²⁷ First they entered:

. . . into agreement with the local chief and his people, agreeing on their part to import good preachers and teachers from the New World free of expense to the tribe and to purchase tools and machinery for industrial schools. The chief and his people, on their part, are required to give a thousand acres of land for each school-farm, to provide subsistence for the preachers and teachers; to build houses for the workers, and to pay a small monthly fee for the tuition of the scholars. Boys and girls may work for their tuition. Those wishing a full course must be allowed to remain in the school at least five years. By this agreement the natives are made to feel that they have made a valuable acquisition and the mission is at once put upon a permanent self-supporting basis.²⁸

Such stations cost approximately two thousand dollars each to put in full operation and the expense of each missionary from departure in America to being set up in a fully operational mission and school in Africa averaged five hundred dollars. In turn money donated by individuals in the United States went only for transportation to the field and none allotted for return fares. Once planted on foreign soil these evangelists worked with the local people in such a way as to exemplify

²⁷"Subduing Africa With Jewsharps," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 11, July, 1885, 3; "Bishop Taylor's," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), 111, December 12, 1884, 1. Some of the many items packed inland included: steel hand tools for building, small musical instruments, and thirty thousand yards of calico which acted as currency. "Subduing Africa With Jewsharps," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 11, July, 1885, 3.

²⁸"Wm. Taylor's Mission," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), VI, April 28, 1887, 4.

Christ and at the same time support themselves. By October, 1887, the Guide To Holiness reported that the self-supporting mission board selected thirty-two more consecrated missionaries to leave New York as of the first of October of that same year.²⁹

No fewer than thirty-five self-supporting stations existed in Africa by December, 1890. William P. Dodson, the missionary in charge at the Loanda Mission, estimated the value of the property there at eight thousand United States dollars. Loanda, a Portuguese settlement of seventeen thousand natives and one thousand Europeans, provided fertile evangelistic soil for Missionary Dodson. William Taylor described Dodson as "a fine linguist in both the Portuguese and Kimbunda languages; a good musician, vocal and instrumental; and a good doctor who had attended medical lectures in Philadelphia. A similar work in Sos Town under the supervision of Rev. H. V. Ekman started in June, 1888, and within a year and a half boasted the organization of three sub-stations twenty to eighty miles inland. At each location, nationals directed by Pastor Ekman built dwellings and a chapel for their native ministers. By December, 1890, Ekman reported that no fewer than 165 men and ten women had abandoned heathenism and accepted Christ as their personal saviour.³⁰

Self-supporting missions also existed in South America under the direction of evangelists sent there by Bishop Taylor. Rev. Oscar Krauser labored on the western coast among a group of German colonies.

²⁹"Bishop Taylor's Work," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. XC, October, 1887, 315.

³⁰"Letter From Bishop Taylor," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. VII, September 19, 1889, 5; "From Dark Africa," Holiness War News (Irving, Kansas), I, January, 1891, 4.

There this evangelist reported that he was well accepted by the locals and that as many as sixty in one place desired prayer with the result reported that the "spirit of God moved on the whole congregation" in such a way that they all professed Christian conversion. At another colony he met with a similar scene, and in response organized fifteen families into a religious band. Such accounts constituted the norm for missionary work under the control of William Taylor. Besides his constituents in Africa, Taylor had sent three missionaries to India, two to Burma, and twenty-two to South America, all on the self-supporting plan, by May, 1897.³¹

This independent success story stimulated jealousy at times in the ranks of the official Methodist Missionary Society. Here statements of apprehension surfaced in official Methodist periodicals over the self-supporting method. The Western Christian Advocate quoted Drs. R. L. Dashiell and John M. Reid as paid representatives of the church when they derided the methods Taylor used. William McDonald, editor of the Advocate Of Christian Holiness, responded:

We would kindly suggest that brethren who receive \$5,000 a year and their travelling expenses, simply to keep the missionary ship afloat, with the aid of a million and a half of members behind them, are not the men to talk about 'irresponsibility' on the part of a man who has, by his own untiring efforts, supported himself and family, and aided by the pittance of a few earnest friends, has during the past year sent twenty-seven missionaries to new fields of labor, and has several more ready to depart; and all this, while this colossal institution which these Secretaries run has failed to add a single man to the laborers in the foreign field during that time. We do not object to the \$5,000, but these flings at

³¹William Taylor, "William Taylor's Workers," Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Boston), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 142.

William Taylor's work.³²

The "Pauline Wesleyan Plan" employed by Taylor served as a model and a catalyst to stimulate the establishment of holiness schools for outgoing missionaries. These operated on the same self-supporting methods as did Bishop Taylor and his workers.³³ Mrs. William Osborn initiated such a school in the fall of 1884 near Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, where she in cooperation with her husband in August, 1884, founded the Wesley Park Camp Meeting Association for returned missionaries. The school at this place followed a prescribed course of study which included: foreign languages; Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, two Indian dialects--Hindustani and Marathi--and English; church history; science; and music. The Bible served as the primary textbook and final authority. In time the school at Wesley Park inspired Mrs. Osborn to start the Union Missionary Training Institute of Brooklyn, New York, and a Missionary Training School in Philadelphia. These offered similar courses of study except at Philadelphia where Mrs. Osborn arranged for qualified students to take selected courses at the Women's Medical College located adjacent to her training school. At each of these educational institutions students accepted the responsibility of all domestic chores. This helped to instill a sense of discipline in each pupil. As Bishop Taylor said, "Those who are going to the heathen as ambassadors of Christ, the carpenter, successors of Peter the fisherman, and Paul the tentmaker, should certainly feel it no disgrace to cook their own food, wash their own clothes, and scrub

³²"William Taylor's Work," ibid., July, 1879, 165.

³³ibid.

their own floors." Such missionary training schools worked in close cooperation with other independent holiness schools in America.³⁴

These included: Pauline Holiness College, College Mound, Missouri; The Holiness School, Coldwater, Michigan; Missionary Training College, Beulah Park, near East Oakland, California; Texas Holiness University, Greenville, Texas; God's Bible and Missionary Training Home, Cincinnati, Ohio; Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky; Pacific Bible College, Los Angeles, California.³⁵ At these institutions students received not only training for foreign missions but also for Christian work such as pastors, evangelists, Christian teachers, and musicians--instrumental and vocal.

Pauline Holiness College opened its doors to 101 students on September 4, 1883, reportedly, the first distinct holiness school in the United States. O. C. Redd had acquired the building at College Mound, Missouri, formally known as McGee College, from the Cumberland Presbyterians who built it at an approximate cost of \$35,000. Rev. Jasper A. Smith who acted as the first president stated, "This is an

³⁴"Training Homes," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), V, May 27, 1886, 2; William Taylor, "Missionary Training School," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, January 1, 1891, 4; "Missionary Training School," Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXXII, July, 1888, 2.

³⁵"Pauline Holiness College, College Mound, Mo.," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), III, January, 1885, 4; Lura A. Mains, "Holiness School," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, October, 1885, 48; Charles E. Lambert, "Schools Of The Prophets," Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), V, September 9, 1886, 3; A. M. Hills, "Texas Holiness University," Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), I, February, 1900, 5; "God's Bible School," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, July 26, 1900, 14; J. W. Hughes, "A Holiness College," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XIII, June 13, 1895, 3; "Pacific Bible College," The Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), XXI, September 14, 1905, 4.

institution for both sexes for their intellectual, moral and religious training based on scriptural methods." They opposed the use of all intoxicants, and President Smith asserted, "We train the young for Bible living, salvation work for the kingdom of Christ and to avoid the works of the devil." Instructors expected students to exhibit physical as well as moral purity. Special school revivals held in the spacious thousand-seat chapel provided students and faculty alike with a welcome break from their day-to-day scholastic activities. At one such assembly as many as two hundred stood indicating their need for justification or sanctification. In the light of such enthusiasm one correspondent confirmed that "many received experiences in Christ and that "under the purifying and unifying power of God, hell's kingdom received an everlasting overthrow in many hearts while the walls of prejudice, ignorance, and carnality tumbled flat."³⁶

A similar school started on September 1, 1884, at Coldwater, Michigan, where Lura A. Mains as principal accepted only girls. Miss Mains said that inspiration for this work came to her as a result of laboring in the South among the "freedmen and poor whites." She continued, "these do not need teachers that will set an example of the pride of life, but the poor and ignorant need to be taught industry, economy, cleanliness, and godliness." Mains initiated her school at Coldwater in order to train young women to meet such needs. All pupils received free tuition while individual living expenses ran to sixty-five dollars for the forty-week school term. Initially she had one

³⁶"Salvation At Pauline Holiness College," Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, October, 1884, 2; "College Mound Revival Again," Ibid., 6; Cowen, "Church Of God (Holiness)," 33-39.

dollar with a payment of \$2.50 due each week for rent and no official backing from any group, but as she said, "We trust God for it all."³⁷

Principal Mains expected the fourteen girls who enrolled for the first term to dress plainly with no ornaments of any kind, no corsets, and all clothing supported from the shoulders. Their diets did not allow tea, coffee or rich pastries nor meat for supper. Students retired at 9:30 P.M., arose at 5:30 A.M. with breakfast at 5:50, dinner at 11:45, and supper at 5:15 P.M. No one could leave the grounds without permission nor under any circumstances attend dances, gaming parties, fairs, circuses or any other activity that might lead the student away from God. As one eye witness said, "strict purity, plainness, and simplicity" marked the daily routine.³⁸

The Michigan School opened its third year in new surroundings at Dutton with an enrollment of fifty-nine pupils, forty-three as boarding students. Individual expenses could be paid in cash or worked out.

September 1 to May 20, 1887, school term expenses totaled:

Payment on the place	\$ 125.00	
Interest on notes	42.50	
Insurance on building	12.50	
Chapel, material and work	500.00	
Wood at \$1 per cord	80.00	
Board for pupils, average 30 at \$1 per week	1,200.00	
Cistern value	50.00	
Bedding, pillows, comforts, sheets &c.	20.00	
Furniture, bedsteads, chairs, &c.	10.00	
Clothing and books for faith pupils	20.00	
Paid money to primary teachers	50.00	
Total	\$2,110.00	39

³⁷Lura A. Mains, "Holiness School," Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 11, August, 1884, 34.

³⁸"Michigan Holiness School, Rules And Regulations," Ibid., 111, December, 1885, 58.

³⁹Lura A. Mains, "Report Of Holiness School," Ibid., V, July,

Free will donations from individuals of many of the major protestant denominations made it possible for these expenses to be met. A Congregationalist from Chicago sent one hundred dollars, a Methodist in Ohio sent twenty dollars through reading the Guide To Holiness, a Wesleyan Methodist sent twenty dollars, a Mennonite gave fifteen dollars, a United Brethren and a Seventh Day Adventist gave ten each. Small donations, from a dollar down, made up the bulk of money received, but as Miss Main said, "we do not care how God sends it, in large amounts or small, only so the expenses are met."⁴⁰

The turn of the century witnessed one holiness school after another established on the fertile plains of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America started a school in the Jayhawk state at Eskridge, Kansas, on March 11, 1902. This resulted primarily through the benevolence of William Trusler who donated "a two story stone edifice which had two rooms for school administrative purposes and four classrooms."⁴¹ The primary stated purpose of the school revolved around the equipping of young men and women to accept the responsibilities of life and at the same time to lead all who would into the experience of perfect love. By January 1, 1903, the students at the school published their own periodical, The Bible School Advocate. This publication ran until September, 1904.⁴² The school

1887, 22.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Wayne E. Caldwell, "The History Of The Kansas Conference Of The Wesleyan Methodist Church Of America 1871-1968," PH.D. dissertation (Denver, Colorado: The Iliff School Of Theology, 1969), 194, 195. Cited hereafter, Caldwell, "History Of Kansas Conference."

⁴² Third Annual Catalogue of the Kansas Wesleyan Bible School

remained under the control of the Wesleyans until then when the Kansas Annual Conference withdrew its support. However, the Eskridge facility continued to operate through freewill donations until the spring of 1912. During this interval it served as one of the primary institutions where many of the radical conservative holiness people sent their children. Editor A. McKinnon of The Two Fires justified the existence of such a school when he asserted that the "public schools are infested with one or more of the following evils: 'Evolution,' 'Catholicism,' 'Infidelity,' and 'Higher Criticism.' Any one of these will damm your children as well as mine."⁴³

E. Faulkner purchased 320 acres at Plainview, Texas, for a pre-arranged holiness community to be centered around twenty-three acres which he donated for the Central Plains Holiness College. A board of directors subdivided the tract into sixty city blocks with individual building lots and broad avenues. The school received approximately \$7,800 on its part for land sold adjacent to the central campus. According to Frank T. Alexander, such institutions provided industrial, literary, and Bible oriented training for their students. Here instructors pointed each pupil to Christ as "Saviour, sanctifier, healer, and coming King."⁴⁴

Eskridge, Kansas, 2, 3; The Bible School Advocate (Eskridge, Kansas), 1, January 1, 1903, 1; Ibid., 11, September 1, 1904, 1.

⁴³Caldwell, "History Of Kansas Conference," 198, 199; "The Revival," The Two Fires (Eskridge, Kansas), 111, April 1, 1912, 4, 5; A. McKinnon, "The Bible School," Ibid., (Scammon, Kansas), VIII, December 1, 1916, 4.

⁴⁴C. J. Meniffee, "History Of Holiness On The Plains," Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), X, January 3, 1907, 3; Frank T. Alexander, "Emmanuel's Bible School, Beulah, Oklahoma," Ibid., February 21, 1907, 9.

C. J. Menifee, "History Of Holiness On The Plains," Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), X, January 3, 1907, 3.

Rev. B. A. Cordell donated forty-two acres at Greenville, Texas, a city of 9,000, where the Holiness Camp Meeting Association Board of Directors laid out the campus for Texas Holiness College and the surrounding community in much the same way as did their counterparts in plainview. Prices for building lots surrounding the campus ranged from seventy-five dollars to \$150 and all proceeds from their sale went to getting the college started. Actual class work began in the fall of 1899 with twenty-seven students and Rev. A. M. Hills, a former professor at Asbury College, president. Tuition for each of the three twelve-week school terms was thirty-two dollars per pupil. In addition to their many other college activities the students ran a nightly rescue mission in Greenville where Professor Hills stated that as many as thirty individuals received either justification or sanctification during the first year.⁴⁵

The untiring efforts of President Hills and his qualified staff contributed to the steady increase of Texas Holiness College as revealed by 340 students attending the 1905-1906 term. During the first two years of operations, the girls' dormitory accommodated all the classrooms and the dining hall provided a suitable space for chapel. One physical improvement after another marked the development of the school until June, 1906, when the Texas Holiness Advocate announced the near completion of a new sixteen thousand dollar academic building.

⁴⁵A. M. Hills, "Texas Holiness University," Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), 1, February, 1900, 5; "Texas Holiness University," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XVII, June 15, 1899, 12; A. M. Hills, "Texas Holiness University, Greenville, Texas," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, September 6, 1900, 12.

The dimensions of this brick structure measured ninety-five feet by sixty feet with an entrance wing of fourteen feet by forty-four feet. School officials secured a loan of five thousand at eight per cent interest to complete this project, but the other buildings at Texas Holiness College remained debt free. As an advocate stated, this success story illustrated the compatibility between continued growth and the vital spiritual interests of the college.⁴⁶

Another holiness educational institution, God's Bible-School and Missionary-Training Home, opened its doors to the public in September, 1900. Here the primary branches of education; mathematics, grammar, history, geography, orthography, penmanship, and music received emphasis in such a way as to provide each pupil with a better understanding of the scriptures. The founder, Martin Wells Knapp observed:

The school is only for those who wish to make a speciality of the word of God with such other studies as may be necessary, . . . It is not a reformatory; it is not a sparking school; it is not a stuffing school. Instead of the jamming process in vogue in most schools, we teach the pupil how to study, how to investigate, how to express thoughts, and how to succeed as a well-equipped soul-winning worker.⁴⁷

⁴⁶L. B. Williams, "Texas Holiness University," Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, June 28, 1906, 1; Mary Catching, "Holiness University, Greenville, Texas," Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), I, December, 1899, 5. Asbury College initiated in 1890 by J. W. Smith at Wilmore, Kentucky, stood as one of the premier holiness schools in the United States. For primary accounts surrounding the formative years of this institution see E. F. Walker, "A Holiness College," The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, June 13, 1895, 3; A. M. Hills, "A College Teaching Holiness," Ibid., XVI, June 16, 1898, 15; George R. Buck, "Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky.," Ibid., June 23, 1898, 13; "Commencement At Asbury," The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XII, June 13, 1900, 8.

⁴⁷"God's Bible-School," The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, July 26, 1900, 14, 15; "God's Bible-School," Ibid., August 30, 1900, 15.

Knapp purchased the property for this school at Rhingold, Young, and Channing Streets in the Mount Auburn area of Cincinnati in July, 1900. For this site he paid \$20,000 with \$3,000 down and the balance to be liquidated in ten equal payments. By August 1 Editor Knapp moved The Revivalist press from its previous location in the YMCA Building and at the same time scheduled all future Salvation Park Camp-Meetings to be held each year starting on the last Friday in June on what he referred to as "this Mount of Blessing." Here over the main entrance Knapp fixed the school motto, "Back to the Bible," and below it a sketch of the holy Bible with a cross and crown. The founder stated, "So, God has a place in Cincinnati where a full gospel can be preached."⁴⁸ Actually Martin Wells Knapp acquired his inspiration for God's Bible School from the Revivalist Chapel, an inner-city rescue work and day school he first initiated in 1899 under the auspices of the International Holiness Union and Prayer League.⁴⁹

This union of holiness advocates traced its inception from an organizational meeting held in September, 1897, at the Cincinnati home of Evangelist Knapp. This group grew rapidly while its leaders; Seth C. Rees, president; Martin Wells Knapp, vice president; W. H. Hurst, secretary; G. W. Ruth, treasurer; gradually assumed the responsibility of performing the primary duties associated with the ministers of any recognized denomination. Members finalized this trend on

⁴⁸"Change Of Address," Ibid., August 9, 1900, 3; "God's Bible-School And Missionary-Training Home," Ibid., August 30, 1900, 4; "Bible-School Opening," Ibid., October 11, 1900, 15; "Dedication Service," Ibid., 15, 16.

⁴⁹"The Revivalist Chapel," Ibid., January 25, 1900, 11.

July 3, 1900, when they adopted the name, Apostolic Holiness Union, and changed their constitution "as not only to provide for the formation of state and local unions which are interdenominational, but for the organization of 'Apostolic Holiness Societies,' giving all Church privileges where such societies are a necessity." Justification for this final break with the old denominations centered around the growing spirit of opposition to second blessing holiness in the established churches and a desire on the part of the holiness people to return to the simplicity of apostolic first-century Christianity.⁵⁰

As Knapp asserted "the great object of the union is to form associations in the interests of suffering, ostracized people in various localities who are preaching without denominational homes, it favors Union Societies wherever they will best serve the interest of holiness." Rev. Seth C. Rees formerly of Providence, Rhode Island, compared the establishment of independent societies in Ohio to ones in New England which had proved successful since the late 1880s. Rees observed:

The hottest churches on the Atlantic Coast are independent; for ten years we have proven that the best results in soul-saving are reached by independent churches, independent missions, and independent camp-meetings. Therefore, we desire to see God's holy people withdraw from hopelessly dead churches and organize independent churches. Life is too short, eternity is too long, and these times are too eventful for us to waste our . . . energies cannonading upon an empty battlefield.⁵¹

⁵⁰"The Apostolic Holiness Union," Ibid., August 2, 1900, 12; Seth C. Rees, "Apostolic Holiness Union," Ibid.

⁵¹Seth C. Rees, "Independent Holiness Churches," Ibid., October 14, 1900, 2.

The future development of this movement toward a new holiness denomination is revealed in its many name changes during its first twenty-five years--1897-1905 as International Apostolic Holiness Union and Prayer League, 1905-1913 as International Apostolic Holiness Union and Churches, 1913-1919 as International Apostolic Holiness Church, 1919-1922 as International Holiness Church, and the Pilgrim Holiness Church upon merger with the Pilgrim Church of California in 1922.

This group further increased its outreach when it absorbed a number of smaller bodies: the Pentecostal Rescue Mission of New York, 1922; the Pentecostal Brethren in Christ of Ohio, 1924; the People's Mission Church of Colorado, 1925; and the Holiness Church of California, 1946. By the 1930s the denomination moved toward a central organization controlled by a general board and a quadrennial delegated conference.

They also moved the church headquarters from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Kingswood, Kentucky, and finally to Indianapolis, Indiana, where the Pilgrim Holiness Advocate acted as the official organ of this

denomination.⁵²

The Pilgrim Holiness Church claimed 32,765 members when it merged with the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America in 1968 to form the Wesleyan Church. In 1969 this body reported a total membership in the United States and Canada of 83,313 members, but by December 1982, it claimed a 33.4 per cent increase to 111,111 parishioners. These were

⁵² Jones, Guide to Holiness Movement, 421, 422. For a more complete account of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America until the 1968 merger of the two groups see Paul Westphal and Paul William Thomas, The Days Of Our Pilgrimage, edited by Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, Jr.; Ira F. McLeister and Roy S. Nicholson, Conscience and Commitment, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, edited by Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter.

dispersed among 1,824 local churches where as many as 20,049 professed conversion and 6,131 sanctification.⁵³

The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene emerged during the same period and in much the same way. Phineas F. Bresee first merged his Los Angeles based Church of the Nazarene with the Pentecostal Churches of America (with congregations in New York and the New England states) at Chicago in 1907. A year later in Pilot Point, Texas, this group united with the Holiness Church of Christ. At its inception the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarenes boasted a combined numerical strength of 10,414 members dispersed between 228 congregations. In 1919 the group dropped the term pentecostal from its official title in order to disassociate themselves completely from the modern day "tongues" movement. This group, like the Pilgrims, steadily moved toward centralization, and since 1912 the denomination has headquartered in Kansas City, Missouri. The official organ, Herald Of Holiness was published, and in 1945 the church established a graduate theological seminary there.⁵⁴

⁵³Statistical Report of the Wesleyan Church, 1983 Edition, Based on the 1982 statistical reports of the provisional general conferences, districts, departments, agencies, and institution of the Wesleyan Church worldwide, Ronald R. Brannon, General Secretary of the Wesleyan Church, 6, 7, 16.

⁵⁴Jones, Guide to Holiness Movement, 132-135. For a primary account of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene parent bodies see Church of the Nazarene (Los Angeles, California), November, 1895; C. W. Ruth Manuscript "Reminiscent," December 20, 1938, Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri; A History Of The Revival Of Holiness In St. Paul's M. E. Church, Providence, R. I., 1880-1887, Or A Statement Of The Circumstances Which Led To The Formation Of The South Providence Holiness Association And The Peoples Evangelical Church; Government And Doctrines Of The New Testament Churches Of Christ; Manual Of The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. For the official denominational history see, Timothy L. Smith, Called Unto Holiness The Story Of The Formative Years.

The Nazarenes also gained numerically through mergers with the Pentecostal Mission of Tennessee and the Pentecostal Church of Scotland in 1915, the Layman's Holiness Association of the Dakotas and Minnesota in 1922, the International Holiness Mission and the Calvary Holiness Church of Great Britain in 1952 and 1955 respectively, and the Gospel Workers Church of Canada in 1958.⁵⁵ By 1959 the church showed 478,282 official adherents dispersed between 4,867 local churches.⁵⁶

However, a few holiness people refused to be driven from the church of their fathers. The more prominent of these included: John S. Inskip, William McDonald, Henry Clay Morrison, Charles J. Fowler, and Joseph H. Smith who continually warned the old line denomination:

Either the Methodist Church will see her error and repent of her departure from the teachings of John Wesley and the fathers and take this work heartily to her bosom; or, continuing her increasing hostility, she will compel those carrying it on to seek other shelter, or else the work will be destroyed. The results are with the church itself. The river will doubtless flow, whether in the old channel or in the new will depend, not on the brethren of the National Association, but on the church itself.⁵⁷

The doctrine of Christian holiness as a moral protest against sin in the church had come full circle since the days of John Wesley and his Methodist Societies. In the spirit of Christian reformers his followers in the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century used the camp meeting system to propagate their teachings and

⁵⁵Jones, Guide to Holiness Movement, 132-135.

⁵⁶Journal of the Twentieth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene edited by B. Edgar Johnson, 297.

⁵⁷"Open Letter To The National Holiness Association," Nazarene Messenger (Los Angeles, California), VIII, July 16, 1903, 7.

increase their circle of influence. This resulted in literally thousands of people being swept into a second religious experience characterized as "perfect love." Progressively this movement fostered holiness literature and the establishment of independent holiness associations. By the 1880s and 1890s the leaders of these quasi-ecclesiastical bodies progressively reacted to the social and intellectual issues of abusive clerical politics, lack of temperance, attendance at improper amusements, worldly dress, along with the Darwin theory of evolution and Biblical criticism. These "isms," they argued, eroded the very moral fiber of the church. The way in which these activists engaged these issues ultimately led to the formation of separate churches dedicated to the preservation of moral as well as spiritual holiness.

of the Association, and the Association shall have the right to sue and be sued in any court of law.

and the Association shall have the right to sue and be sued in any court of law.

and the Association shall have the right to sue and be sued in any court of law.

Rules and Regulations of the Michigan State Holiness Association shall be the same as the Michigan Holiness Association (Grand Rapids, Michigan), incorporated between January, 1905 to March, 1906.

and the Association shall have the right to sue and be sued in any court of law.

Constitution and By-Laws.

Article 1. Name-Object-Standard.

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be the Michigan State Holiness Association.

Sec. 2. The object of this Association shall be the promotion of sinners and the spread of scriptural holiness throughout the state.

Sec. 3. The Standard of the Association shall be the Bible interpreted agreeably to the Statement of Doctrine of the Association.

APPENDIX

Article 2. Membership.

Sec. 1. Persons of holiness lands or county Associations who desire to join this A.S.H.A. may become members of this Association by sending their names to the secretary accompanied by a written recommendation from the local or county of the Association of which they are already a member.

Sec. 2. Persons who are in the experience of getting sanctification and who endorse our Statement of Doctrine shall be eligible to membership in the Association.

Sec. 3. Applications for membership shall be read by the secretary and shall require a two thirds majority to be accepted.

Sec. 4. Those applying for membership who present shall be closely questioned concerning their experience by the President, or by any other members. Those meeting in their paper work be recommended by a member of the Association.

Sec. 5. An accused member shall be brought to trial at a regular meeting of the Association and may be expelled by a two thirds majority.

Article 3. Officers.

Sec. 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice

APPENDIX A

Rules and Regulations of the Michigan State Holiness Association taken from The Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), interspersed between January, 1885 to March, 1885.

STATE ASSOCIATION

Constitution and By-Laws.

Article 1. Name-Object-Standard.

- Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be the Michigan State Holiness Association.
- Sec. 2. The object of this Association shall be the conversion of sinners and the spread of scriptural holiness throughout the state.
- Sec. 3. The Standard of the Association shall be the Bible interpreted agreeably to the Statement of Doctrine of the Association.

Article 2. Membership.

- Sec. 1. Members of holiness bands or county Associations auxiliary to the M.S.H.A. may become members of this Association by handing their names to the secretary accompanied by a written recommendation from the band or president of the Association of which they are already a member.
- Sec. 2. Persons who are in the experience of entire sanctification and who endorse our Statement Doctrine shall be eligible to membership in the Association.
- Sec. 3. Applications for membership shall be read by the secretary and shall require a two thirds majority to be received.
- Sec. 4. Those applying for membership, when present shall be closely questioned concerning their experience by the President, or by any other members. Those sending in their names must be recommended by a member of the Association.
- Sec. 5. An accused member shall be brought to trial at a regular meeting of the Association and may be expelled by a two-thirds majority.

Article 3. Officers.

- Sec. 1. The officers of the Association shall be president, a vice

president, a secretary (who shall also act as treasurer and corresponding secretary), trustees, and evangelists.

- Sec. 2. All officers (with the exception of evangelists who may be elected at any regular meeting shall be chosen at the annual meeting for one year and shall serve until their successors are duly elected.

Article 4. Officers' Duties.

- Sec. 1. The duty of the president shall be to preside over the meetings of the Association; have general supervision of its religious work; and other duties usually devolving upon such officers.
- Sec. 2. The duty of the vice president shall be to act as president in case of the absence or inability of that officer.
- Sec. 3. The duty of the secretary shall be to keep an accurate account of the transactions of each meeting and other work usually devolving upon such officer. As treasurer he shall keep an accurate account of receipts and expenditures, and report the same when called upon by the Association. As corresponding secretary, he shall attend to the work usually devolving upon such officers.

RECEPTION OF MEMBERS

As the holiness work has been greatly hindered by the inconsistent lives of many of its professors, we cannot be too careful in receiving members into our association. And, as the Bible is our guide book, we must, as far as possible, require every member to live in harmony with its teachings. Better sacrifice a few or even many members than compromise or lower the standard of God's word. In order to secure the desired end, we ask the following question. . . .

1. Have you examined the Constitution and By-Laws, and Statement of Doctrine of the Michigan Holiness Association?
2. Do you heartily endorse them, and will you abide by them?
3. Will you abstain from the use of tobacco in every form and by precept and example discourage the use of the same?
4. Are you free from alliances with all secret societies?
5. Are you convinced that all such societies are in direct violation of the commands of God's word? . . .
6. Deleted. Do you advocate perfect plainness?
7. Do you believe church fairs, festivals, socials, Christmas trees, and the like entertainments, also boat races, horse

races, county fairs and all worldly amusement to be wrong and will discourage them by example and precept?

8. Have you the witness of the Spirit that you are now a child of God?
9. Are you a member, in good standing, of some evangelical branch of the Christian church--if not are you in favor of church organization?
10. Is your body presented, a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable, unto God as your reasonable service, and will you evidence this complete consecration by giving liberally of your time and money as God shall prosper you for the support of the holiness work?
11. Do you enjoy the experience of entire sanctification, and did you receive it by faith subsequent to conversion?
12. If at any time you lose this experience, or become unwilling to abide by the answers you have now given, will you willingly and promptly withdraw from the association?

These questions having been satisfactorily answered, those asking for membership may be received by a vote of the association--after which prayer will be in order.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

The purpose of this list is to provide the reader with an accurate record of the contributing institutions for this work. At the end of each entry in the bibliography is the appropriate abbreviation for the university, church library, or state historical society who loaned that respective item. The style of presentation is patterned after Gregory's *Union List of Serials*.

- 229ca California, Berkeley. Pacific School of Religion.
- C207L California, San Diego. Point Loma College.
- C20L California, Sacramento. California State Library.
- 220F Colorado, Denver. 111111 School of Theology.
- C206 Connecticut, Middlebury. Middlebury University.
- 20L D. C. Washington. Library of Congress.
- 204A Georgia, Franklin Springs. Emory College.
- 1019A Illinois, Bloomington. Central Methodist Historical Conference
Seminar on Archives.
- 22C Illinois, Evanston. Garrett Theological Seminary.
- 121H Illinois, Springfield. Illinois State Historical Society
Library.
- 1207 Indiana, Anderson. Anderson School of Theology.
- 1204A Indiana, Elletts. Wesleyan Church Archives.
- 1207 Indiana, Elletts. Wesleyan College.
- 1204A Iowa, Des Moines. Iowa State Division of Museum and
Archives.
- 1210A Iowa, Iowa City. Iowa State Historical Society.
- 220H Kansas, Salina City. Baker University, East Conference
Methodist Historical Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

The purpose of this list is to provide the reader with an accurate record of the contributing institutions for this work. At the end of each entry in the bibliography is the appropriate abbreviations for the university, church library, or state historical society who loaned that respective item. The style of presentation is patterned after Geogory's Union List Of Serials.

CBPac	California, Berkeley. Pacific School of Religion.
CSdPL	California, San Diego. Point Loma College.
CSCL	California, Sacramento. California State Library.
CoDI	Colorado, Denver. Illiff School of Theology.
CtMW	Connecticut, Middleton. Wesleyan University.
DLC	D. C. Washington. Library of Congress.
GFsE	Georgia, Franklin Springs. Emmaneul College.
IBIMA	Illinois, Bloomington. Central Methodist Illinois Conference Commission on Archives.
IEG	Illinois, Evanston. Garrett Theological Seminary.
ISIH	Illinois, Springfield. Illinois State Historical Society Library.
InAT	Indiana, Anderson. Anderson School of Theology.
InMWA	Indiana, Marion. Wesleyan Church Archives.
InRE	Indiana, Richmond. Earlham College.
IaDIaA	Iowa, Des Moines. Iowa State Divisions of Museums and Archives
IaIaIaH	Iowa, Iowa City. Iowa State Historical Society.
KBBM	Kansas, Baldwin City. Baker University, East Conference Methodist Historical Library.

KMKSU	Kansas, Manhattan. Kansas State University.
KPPU	Kansas, Pittsburg. Pittsburg State University.
KTKH	Kansas, Topeka. Kansas State Historical Society.
KyWAT	Kentucky, Wilmore. Asbury Theology Seminary.
MBBL	Massachusetts, Boston. Boston Public Library.
MBU-T	Massachusetts, Boston. Boston University School of Theology.
MWA	Massachusetts, Worcester. American Antiquarian Society.
MiAnMi	Michigan, Ann Arbor. Bentley Library, University of Michigan.
MoCMoH	Missouri, Columbia. The State Historical Society of Missouri.
MoKcNA	Missouri, Kansas City. Nazarene Archives.
NbLNbH	Nebraska, Lincoln. Nebraska State Historical Society.
NjMD	New Jersey, Madison. Drew University Library.
NHoC	New York, Houghton. Houghton College.
NNPL	New York, New York. New York Public Library.
NNUT	New York, New York. Union Theological Seminary.
OC1WRH	Ohio, Cleveland. Western Reserve Historical Society.
OCGB	Ohio, Cincinnati. God's Bible School.
ODW	Ohio, Delaware. Commission on Archives and History, Ohio West Conference, Ohio Wesleyan University.
OkOkPHA	Oklahoma, Oklahoma City. Pentecostal Holiness Church Archives.
OkTOR	Oklahoma, Tulsa. Oral Roberts University, Pentecostal Research Center.
ScCScU	South Carolina, Columbia. University of South Carolina, South Carolinian Library.
TxATxU	Texas, Austin. University of Texas, Barker Texas History Center.
TxDaMp	Texas, Dallas. Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University.

PRIMARY MATERIAL

BOOKS CONSULTED

- Asbury, Francis. Journal Of Rev. Francis Asbury. 3 vols., 1, 11 (New York: Lane & Scott, 1852). Own.
- Bourne, George. The Life Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M. With Memoirs Of The Wesley Family. To Which Are Subjoined, Dr. Whitehead's Funeral Sermon And A Comprehensive History Of American Methodism (Baltimore, Maryland: George Dobbin and Murphy For Themselves, John Hagerty And Abner, 1807). Own.
- Brooks, John P. The Divine Church: a Treatise on the Origin, Constitution, Order and Ordinances of the Church; Being a Vindication of the New Testament Ecclesia, and an Exposure of the Anti-Scriptural Character of the Modern Church or Sect (Columbia, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, Printers and Binders, 1891). KyWAT.
- Byers, A. L. Birth of a Reformation: Or the Life and Labors of Daniel S. Warner (Anderson, Indiana: Gospel Trumpet Company, 1921). InAT.
- Calvin, John. Institutes of the Christian Religion. 2 vols., 11, 7th American Edition, Revised and Corrected (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, n.d.). KPPU.
- Carradine, Beverly. Church Entertainments: Twenty Objections (Syracuse, New York: A. W. Hall, Publisher, 1893). KyWAT, NjMD.
- _____. The Sanctified Life (Cincinnati, Ohio: Office of The Revivalist, 1897). KyWAT, NjMD.
- Cartwright, Peter. Autobiography of Peter Cartwright. With an Introduction, Bibliography, and Index by Charles L. Wallis (Nashville, Tennessee: Abington Press, 1956). Own.
- Coke, Thomas and Moore, Henry. The Life Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Including An Account Of The Great Revival Of Religion, In Europe and America, Of Which He was the First and Chief Instrument. Second Edition (London: G. Paramore, 1792). Own.
- A. Collection Of Interesting Tracts, Explaining Several Important Points Of Scripture Doctrine. Published by Order Of The General Conference (New York: J. Soule and T. Mason For The Methodist Episcopal Church In The United States, 1817). Own.
- Crooks, George R. The Life Of Matthew Simpson Of The Methodist Episcopal Church (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1890). NjMD.
- Daniels, Morris S. The Story Of Ocean Grove, Related In The Year Of Its

Golden Jubilee (New York and Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1919). NJMD.

Dods, Marcus., ed. Against the Epistle of Manichaeus Called Fundamental, from The Works of Aurelius Augustine 7 vols., V, Writings in Connection with the Manichean Heresy (Edinburgh, Scotland: T. & T. Clark, 1872). NJMD.

Dow, Lorenzo. History Of Cosmopolite; Or The Four Volumes of Lorenzo's Journal, Concentrated In One: Containing His Experience And Travels, From Childhood To 1815, Being Upwards Of Thirty-Seven Years. Also His Polemical Writings. Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Joseph Rakestraw, 1815). Own.

Drew, Samuel. The Life Of The Rev. Thomas Coke, Including In Detail His Various Travels And Extraordinary Missionary Exertions, In England, Ireland, America, And The West Indies: With An Account Of His Death On The 3d Of May, 1814, While On A Missionary Voyage To The Island Of Ceylon, In The East-Indies (New York: J. Soule and T. Mason, For The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, 1818). Own.

Emory, John. Defense Of "Our Fathers," And Of The Original Organization Of The Methodist Episcopal Church, Against The Rev. Alexander McCaine And Others: With Historical And Critical Notices Of Early American Methodism (New York: Carlton & Phillips, 1854). Own.

Finley, James B. Autobiography Of Rev. James B. Finley; Or, Pioneer Life In The West. Edited by W. P. Strickland, D.D. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Printed At The Methodist Book Concern, For the Author, R. P. Thompson Printer, 1854). Own.

_____. Sketches Of Western Methodism: Biographical, Historical, And Miscellaneous. Illustrative Of Pioneer Life. Edited by W. P. Strickland, D.D. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Printed At The Methodist Book Concern, For The Author, R. P. Thompson, Printer, 1855). Own.

Fitzgerald, J. N.; Yatman, C. H. Rev.; and Morgan Tali Esen., eds. Let All The People Sing. For Choir And Congregation, Ocean Grove Christian Songs (Ocean Grove, New Jersey: Published For The Ocean Grove Association, Tali Esen Morgan 1902). Own.

Fletcher, John. The Works of John Fletcher. 4 vols., II (New York: Lane & Scott, 1851).

Garrison, William Lloyd. Thoughts on African Colonization: Or An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the American Colonization Society (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832). MBBL.

Gorham, B. W. Camp Meeting Manual, A Practical Book For The Camp

Ground. in two parts (Boston: H. V. Degen, 1854). KMKSU.

Hazlitt, William., ed. and trans. The Table Talk Of Martin Luther with a Memoir of Alexander Chalmers (London: George Bell And Sons, 1895). KPPU.

History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South: Comprehending all the Official Proceedings of the General Conference; the Southern Annual Conferences, and the General Convention; with Such Other Matters As Are Necessary to a Right Understanding of the Case (Nashville, Tennessee: Compiled and published by the editors and publishers of the Southwestern Christian Advocate for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By order of the Louisville Convention, 1845). KPPU.

A History Of The Revival Of Holiness In St. Paul's M. E. Church, Providence, R. I. 1880-1887, Or A Statement Of The Circumstances Which Led To The Formation Of The South Providence Holiness Association And The Peoples Evangelical Church (Providence, Rhode Island: Published by order of the Association, E. L. Freeman & Son, Printers and Publishers, 1887). MoKcNA.

Hughes, George. Days Of Power In The Forest Temple. A Review Of The Wonderful Work Of God At Fourteen National Camp-Meetings, From 1867 To 1872. With an Introduction by Bishop Haven (Boston: John Bent & Co., 1873). NjMD, IEG, ODW.

Jernigan, Charles, Broughten. Pioneer Days of the Holiness Movement in the Southwest (Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House, 1919). MoKcNA.

King, Joseph Hillery and King, Blanche L. Yet Speaketh, Memoirs of the late Bishop Joseph H. King (Franklin Springs, Georgia: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, n.d.). OkTOR.

Kiergan, A. M. Historical Sketches of the Revival of True Holiness and Local Church Polity from 1865-1916 (Fort Scott, Kansas: Published by the Board of Publication of the Church Advocate and Good Way 1972. Published at the decision of the convention of Churches of God commonly known as the Independent Holiness People). Own.

Lee, Jesse. A Short History Of The Methodists, In The United States Of America; Beginning in 1766, And Continued Till 1809 (Baltimore Maryland: Magill and Clime, 1810). NjMD.

McDonald, William. Life Sketches of Rev. Alfred Cookman (Cincinnati, Ohio: Freedman's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1900). Own.

McDonald, William and Searles, John E. The Life Of Rev. John S. Inskip President Of The National Association For The Promotion Of

Holiness (Boston: McDonald & Gill, 1890). NjMD, KyWAT.

McLean, A., and Eaton, J. W., eds. Peneul; Or Face To Face With God (New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr., Publisher, 1869). Own.

Matlack, Lucius Columbus. The Antislavery Struggle And Triumph In The Methodist Episcopal Church. With an Introduction by D. D. Whedon (New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati, Ohio: Walden and Stowe, 1881). Own.

_____. The History of American Slavery and Methodism, from 1780 to 1849; and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. 2 parts with an appendix, II (New York: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1849). NjMD.

_____. The Life Of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled From His Personal Narrative, Correspondence, And Other Authenic Sources Of Information. In two Parts (New York: C. Pringle and L. C. Matlack at the Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1847). NjMD.

Oats, Whitney J., ed., with Notes and Intro. Basic Writings of Saint Augustine. 2 vols., I (New York: Random House Publishers, 1948).

Osborn, William B., Intro. The Double Cure or Echoes From National Camp Meetings (Boston): The Christian Witness Company, 1887). NjMD.

Parhan, Charles F. A Voice Crying in the Wilderness (Joplin, Missouri: Joplin Printing Company, 1944).

Parham, Sarah E. The Life of Charles F. Parham, Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement (Joplin, Missouri: The Tri-State Printing Company, 1930). OkTOR.

Proceedings Of Holiness Conferences Held at Cincinnati, November 26th, 1877, and At New York, December 17th 1877 (New York: National Publishing Association For The Promotion Of Holiness, J. S. Inskip, Agent, 1878). TxDaMp.

Ridgaway, Henry Bascom. The Life of Rev. Alfred Cookman. With An Introduction by R. S. Foster (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1873). Own.

Roberts, Alexander and Donaldson, James., ed. The Ante-Nicene Fathers Translations Of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. 10 vols. Revised and Chronologically Arranged With Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes by A. Cleveland Coxe. Irenaeus Against Heresies I, book 3 by Irenaeus; I, Dialogue With Trypho A Jew by Justin; III, Apology by Tertullian, the founder of Latin Christianity; V, Epistle 68, The Epistles of Cyprian by Cyprian. Own.

Robinson, Bud. Sunshine and Smiles, Life Story, Flash Lights, Sayings and Sermons (Chicago: The Christian Witness Company, 1903). KyWAT.

Scott, Orange., comp. The New And Improved Camp Meeting Hymn Book: Being A Choice Selection Of Hymns From The Most Approved Authors Designed To Aid In The Public And Private Devotion Of Christians (Brookfield, Massachusetts: Publisher by the Compiler. E. and G. Merriam Printers, 1831). Own.

Shaw, Solomon Benjamin., ed. Echoes of the General Holiness Assembly Held in Chicago, May 3-13, 1901 (Chicago: S. B. Shaw Publisher, 1901). KyWAT.

_____, ed. Proceedings of the General Holiness Assembly, Held In the Park Avenue M. E. Church in Chicago, May 20-26, 1885 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: S. B. Shaw, Publisher, 1885). KyWAT.

Stevens, C. T., comp. Blood and Fire Songs (Shott, Missouri: n.p. n.d.). Own.

Stokes, Ellwood H., comp. Ocean Grove, Its Origin And Progress, As Shown In The Annual Reports Presented By The President, To Which Are Added Other Papers Of Interest, Including List of Lot-Holders, Charter, By-Laws (Philadelphia: Published by Order Of The Association, Press Of Haddock & Son, 1874). NjMD.

Sutton, R. The Methodist Church Property Case, B. Bascom, and Others, vs. George Lane, and Others (Richmond, Virginia and Louisville, Kentucky: Published By John Early, For The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1851). Own.

Taylor, William. William Taylor of California, Bishop of Africa; An Autobiography. Revised with a preface by Rev. C. G. Moore (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897). NjMD.

Washburn, Josephine M. History And Reminiscences Of Holiness Church In Southern California And Arizona (South Pasadena, California: Record Press, 1912). NNPL.

Watson, Richard. The Life Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow Of Lincoln College, Oxford, And Founder Of The Methodist Societies. First American Official Edition With Translations And Notes by John Emory (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, For the Methodist Episcopal Church, At The Conference, 1831). Own.

Weld, Theodore Dwight. American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839). KPPU.

Wesley, John. Journal of John Wesley. 8 vols., III, VII. Edited by Ernest Rhys (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1906-1922). KPPU.

- _____. Thoughts Upon Slavery (London: n.p., 1774).
- Wheatley, Richard. The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer (New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr., Publisher, 1876). NjMD.
- Whitehead, John. A Discourse Delivered At the New Chapel in the City-Road, On the Ninth of March, 1791, At the Funeral of the late Rev. Mr. John Wesley. The Second Edition (London: G. Paramore, 1791). Own.
- Wood, John Allen. Auto-biography of Rev. J. A. Wood (Chicago and Boston: The Christian Witness Company, 1904). NjMD.
- Youngs, James., Comp. A History Of The Most Interesting Events In The Rise And Progress Of Methodism In Europe And America. Second edition (New Haven, Connecticut: Daniel McLeod, 1831). Own.

CHURCH DOCUMENTS

- Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844. Vol. II contains the minutes of 1840 and 1844 and the debates of 1844 (New York: Carlton and Lanahan, n.d.). NjMD.
- Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1864 (New York: n.p., n.d.). NjMD.
- Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1880 (New York: Phillips and Hunt; Cincinnati, Ohio: Cranston and Stowe, n.d.). NjMD.
- Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South 1894 (n.p., n.d.). TxDaMp.

DIARIES, JOURNALS, AND LETTERS

- Roy, E. W. to Fankhauser, Craig. June 30, 1983. Personal possession of Craig Fankhauser, Independence, Kansas.
- Ruth, C. W. Manuscript. "Reminiscent." December 20, 1938. Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri.
- Sunderland, LaRoy. Manuscript Statement on his Relation to the Rise of Anti-Slavery Activity and Theological Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Made April 22, 1872. New England Methodist Historical Society Library, Boston, Massachusetts.
- Walker, Edward Franklin. Edward Franklin Walker Diary June, 1871 to December, 1874. Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri.

Warner, Daniel Sidney. Warner Papers, 1866-1885. 1 reel of microfilm. Anderson Theological Seminary, School of Theology Library, Anderson, Indiana. Journal, personal notes, budget, record of sermons preached, sermon outline book, a history of the Gospel Co., and papers relating to Warner's business transactions of the Gospel Trumpet Co.

_____. Journal of D. S. Warner, January 1, 1879. Anderson Theology Seminary, School of Theology Library, Anderson, Indiana.

_____. Daniel Sidney Warner Scratch Book (#4028). Anderson Theology Seminary, School of Theology Library, Anderson, Indiana.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND CHARTERS

History Of The State Of Nebraska: Counties, Cities, Towns And Villages, A Full Account Of Its Growth From An Uninhabited Territory To A Wealthy And Important State Of Its Early Settlements; Its Rapid Increase In Population, And The Marvelous Development Of Its Counties, Cities, Towns, And Villages, Their Advantages, Industries, Manufactures And Commerce; Biographical Sketches, Portraits Of Prominent Men And Early Settlers; Views Of Residences And Business Blocks, Cities And Towns. 2 vols., II (Chicago: The Western Historical Company, 1882). NbLNbH.

Howard, William A. Smith v. LeRoy Sworstedt. Cases Argued And Decided In The Supreme Court Of The United States. 13, 14, 15, 16 Howard 57 U. S., Book 14, "Law Ed." Stephen K. Williams, Comp. (Rochester, New York: The Lawyers Co-Operative Publishing Compsny, 1926). KPPU.

Incorporation Charter Of The Fire Baptized Ekklesia Society, August, 1899. Secretary of State's Office: Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Incorporation Charter Of The Ekklesia Society Amended from The Fire Baptized Ekklesia Society, May 9, 1900. Secretary of State's Office: Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Incorporation Charter Of The Kansas State Holiness Association, March 9, 1903. Secretary of State's Office: Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Incorporation Charter Of The Fire Baptized Holiness Association Of Southeastern Kansas, August 11, 1904. Secretary of State's Office: Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Incorporation Charter Of The Southeast Kansas Fire Baptized Holiness Association, December 27, 1922. Secretary of State's Office: Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1870. Population of Johnson County in the State of Nebraska, July, 1870. Current Population Reports , Schedule 1, Page No. 6. Washington, D. C. NbLNbH.

PAMPHLETS AND MISCELLANEOUS

Catalogue of Kansas Wesleyan Bible School (Eskridge, Kansas: Bible School Advocate Printers, 1903). KTKH.

Church Of God (Holiness) Convention Minutes 1982. (Overland Park, Kansas: Herald and Banner Press, 1982).

Constitution and General Rules of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church (Royston, Georgia: Live Coals Press, 1905). GFsEC.

Government And Doctrines Of New Testament Churches (Milan, Tennessee: Printed at the Exchange Office, 1903). MoKcNA.

Journal of the Twentieth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene. Edited by B. Edgar Johnson. Meetings held in Kansas City Convention Center, Kansas City, Mo. June 23-27, 1980 (Kansas City, Missouri: The Nazarene Publishing House, 1980). MoKcNA.

Manual Of The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Edited by Phineas F. Bresee and Robert Pierce. Published by Authority Of The General Assembly Held At Pilot Point, Texas (Pilot Point, Texas: Evangel Publishing Company, 1908). MoKcNA.

Statistical Report of The Wesleyan Church 1983 Edition. Based on the 1982 statistical reports of the provisional general conferences, districts, departments, agencies, and institutions of The Wesleyan Church worldwide. Ronald R. Brannon General Secretary of The Wesleyan Church (Marion, Indiana: Wesleyan Publishing House, 1983). InMWA.

The Thirty-Eighth National Camp Meeting For The Promotion Of Holiness Will Be Held at Bismarck Grove On the Line of Kansas Pacific Railway, Near the City of Lawrence, Commencing June 24, 1879; Closing July 4, 1879 (Handbill printed by Kansas Tribune Lawrence, n.p.). KTKH.

Watson, Richard. The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated In A Sermon Preached Before The University Of Cambridge, On Wednesday, May 29, 1776 (Cambridge, England: Printed by J. Archbeacon, Printer to the University, 1776). KPPU.

Wesley, John. A Calm Address To Our American Colonies (Bristol, England: Printed by William Pine, 1775). Own.

. Thoughts on Slavery. reprinted in pocket size edition with an Appendix containing Methodist Conference Regulations on Slavery (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839). Own.

1983 Yearbook of the Church Of God United States and Canada. Roscoe Snowden, Registrar. Charlotte Brooks, Assistant Registrar and Editor (Anderson, Indiana: Executive Council of the Church of God, Division Of Church Service, 1983). InAT.

Year Book of the 95th Annual Camp Meeting of the Kansas State Holiness Association Incorporated, Interdenominational (Beulah Park, Wichita, Kansas: n.p., August 12-22, 1982). Own.

Young, Benjamin Wesley. The Experience Accident And Obituary Of Brother Benjamin Wesley Young. "My Experience." (Independence, Kansas, n.p., n.d.). Own.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. Vol. 1-13, 1870-1881; Advocate Of Bible Holiness Vol. 13 repeated 1882; The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. Vol. 1-18, 1883-1900. IEG, KyWAT, MWA, NjMD.

Alway, Hester, "Union Missionary Institute, Brooklyn, N.Y." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, June 13, 1895, 12.

Buck, George R. "Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XVI, June 23, 1898, 13.

"Camp Meeting." and "Notice [Indian Territory]." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XVII, August 3, 1899, 12.

"Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, May 4, 1893, 8.

"Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, July 15, 1893, 4.

"Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, August 17, 1893, 5.

"Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, February 8, 1894, 5.

- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, March 14, 1895, 12.
- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, April 11, 1895, 12.
- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, May 23, 1895, 12.
- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, September 19, 1895, 12.
- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, October 10, 1895, 12.
- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, October 17, 1895, 12.
- "Camp Meeting Calendar Benjamin H. Irwin." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIV, January 23, 1896, 12.
- "Earthquakes Cyclones And Fires In Which The Lord Is Not." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, October 13, 1898, 4.
- Finley, R. J. "From Kansas." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, December 3, 1891, 4.
- _____. "Kansas Holiness Association-Secretary's Report." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XI, December 14, 1893, 5.
- "The Great Success Of The Salvation Army." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, June 21, 1894, 12, 13.
- Haney, Milton L. "The County Associations." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIV, February 13, 1896, 2.
- _____. "Holiness Associations." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, December 6, 1894, 8.
- _____. "'Specially' Rules For Band Meetings." The Christian

Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, January 10, 1895, 5.

Harlow, William T. "Fourteenth National Camp Meeting At Knoxville, Tenn." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. III, November, 1872, 108-110.

Hills, A. M. "A College Teaching Holiness." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XVI, June 16, 1898, 15.

"Holiness Derided." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. VII, December 12, 1889, 4.

"Holiness In The M. E. Church, South." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XV, February 18, 1897, 8.

Hughes, George. "Annual Meeting of the Association." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, December, 1871, 117.

Hughes, J. W. "A Holiness College." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XIII, June 13, 1895, 3.

Inskip, John S. "The New Volume." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. IX, January, 1877, 19, 20.

_____. "Publishers' Notice." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. VII, November, 1876, 315.

_____. "Publishers' Notice." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, May, 1879, 114.

_____. "Western Evangelistic Tour Letter From Brother Inskip." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, June, 1871, 176-190.

"An Irrespressible Conflict Upon Us." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, June 18, 1891, n. p.

"Irwin's 'Fire Baptism' Movement." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, September 22, 1898, 15.

"Is The Methodist Church Declining?" The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. II, December 4, 1884, n.p.

"Letter From Bishop Taylor." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. VII, September 19, 1889, 5.

"Letter From Dr. Levy, Ocean Grove, N. J., June 23, 1894." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, July 5, 1894, 12.

McDonald, William. "Bishop Bowman's Address." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. I, April 19, 1883, 4.

_____. "Bishop George's Letter To Presiding Elders On Holiness." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, January 22, 1891, 1.

_____. "Crazed By Holiness." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. I, May 3, 1883, 4.

_____. "The Death Of Bishop Ames." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 140, 141.

_____. "The Difference In Bishops." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. I, May 3, 1883, 6.

_____. "The Eleventh Volume." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, January, 1879, 16, 17.

_____. "Enlargement Of The Witness." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, January 4, 1894, 1.

_____. "Evangelists." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, March, 1871, 146.

_____. "Future Of Our Advocate." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, April, 1871, 162, 163.

_____. "History Of Camp-Meetings." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 138, 139.

_____. "John S. Inskip Is Dead." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. II, March 20, 1884, 4.

_____. "Letter From The Editor, The Work In California." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. II, June, 1871, 190, 191.

_____. "The Northwestern." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, August, 1879, 191.

_____. "Ridge View Park Camp-Meeting Recalled." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. VII, July 18, 1889, 1.

_____. "38th National Camp Meeting Bismarck Grove." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XI, August, 1879, 188, 189.

McDonald, William and Inskip, John S. "The Work Begun." "Evangelism." "Our Plans." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. 11, April, 1871, 162, 163.

"A Memorial To The Bishops Of The Methodist Episcopal Church Over The Subject Of Entire Sanctification." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. X, February 11, 1892, 5.

"The Methodist Popery Of The South." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XV, March 4, 1897, 8.

Moore, L. N. "Danger To The Holiness Movement." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVII, November 9, 1899, 3.

Munger, Charles. "Holiness And The Methodist Episcopate." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. 11, January, 1871, 106.

"A New Holiness Church." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. I, May 17, 1883, n.p.

Otto, E. E. "The Hephzeibah Rescue Home's Work In St. Louis." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, February 10, 1898, 4, 5.

_____. "The Haphzeibah Rescue Home's Work in St. Louis." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVI, April 7, 1898, 13.

"Report Of Committee On Paternal Address To The Churches." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. IX, February, 1878, 36, 37, 47, 48.

Rhoades, S. B. "Camp Meeting Calendar." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. 11, May 28, 1891, 8.

_____. "From Kansas." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, May 28, 1891, 5.

_____. "From Kansas." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. X, January 7, 1892, 8.

Smith, Joseph T. "From Kansas [Third Work Extravagance]." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. IX, January 1, 1891, 4.

Taylor, William. "William Taylor's Workers." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Boston), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 142.

_____. "William Taylor's Work." Advocate Of Christian Holiness

(Boston), o.s. XI, June, 1879, 165.

"Texas Holiness University." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XVIII, June 15, 1899, 12.

"The Voice Of The Bishops." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIV, March 19, 1896, 2, 3.

Walker, Edward F. "A Holiness College." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XIII, June 13, 1895, 3.

_____. "Kansas [Parson's Holiness Camp]." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, September 12, 1894, 13.

_____. "Parsons, Kansas Camp Report." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. September 6, 1894, 12.

"What Next?" The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Chicago and Boston), n.s. XVIII, May 10, 1900, 5.

"William Taylor's Work." Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Boston), o.s. IX, July, 1879, 165.

Wilson, G. W. "Holiness vs. Southern Methodist Bishops." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston), n.s. XII, June 7, 1894, 2, 3.

Wolford, J. F. "Neosho Valley Band Meeting Report." The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), n.s. XII, April 12, 1894, 12.

Wood, John Allen. "How Was Wesley Led To Receive and Teach The Doctrine Of Holiness?" Advocate Of Christian Holiness (Philadelphia), o.s. XIII, February, 1881, 29.

American Wesleyan Observer (Lowell, Massachusetts), Vol. 1, Number 1-26, January 2, 1840 - August 13, 1840; New England Christian Advocate (Lowell, Massachusetts), July 23, 1840-?. NJMD.

Horton, Jotham and Scott, Orange. "Seventh Trial Of The Editor [LaRoy Sunderland] Of Zion's Watchman." American Wesleyan Observer (Lowell, Massachusetts), July 23, 1840, 97-100.

The Apostolic Faith (Topeka, Kansas), Vol. 1-2, March 15, 1899 - April, 1900; (Baxter Springs, Kansas), Vol. 3-28. KTKH, OKTOR.

"Bethel." The Apostolic Faith (Topeka, Kansas), 1, March 22, 1899, 8.

"Crowning Gift From Heaven." The Apostolic Faith (Topeka, Kansas), 1, June 7, 1899, 5.

"The Gift Of Tongues." The Apostolic Faith (Topeka, Kansas), 1, May 3, 1899, 5.

Parham, Charles. "Sermon." The Apostolic Faith (Baxter Springs, Kansas), Whole Number 3, April, 1925, 9.

Arminian Magazine (London) Vol. VIII.

Wesley, John. "Montanus." Arminian Magazine (London), VIII, January, 1785, 421.

Banner Of Holiness (Bloomington, Illinois), Vol. 1-11, 1872-1883;
Christian Voice And Banner Of Holiness (Jacksonville, Illinois),
Vol. 12-18, 1884-1890. ISIH, IBIMA.

Brooks, John P. "Facts That Are Stubborn." Banner Of Holiness
(Bloomington, Illinois), no. vol. no date. Found in scrapbook
given by Miss Flora Moore to the Commission On Archives And
History, Central Illinois Conference, United Methodist Church,
Bloomington, Illinois.

_____. "A Few Words in Kindness and Love." The Christian Voice And
Banner Of Holiness (Jacksonville, Illinois), XVI, March 21, 1888, 4.

_____. "Line Upon Line." Banner Of Holiness (Bloomington,
Illinois), VI, August 17, 1878, 2.

_____. "Why Another Sect?" Banner Of Holiness (Bloomington,
Illinois), VII, December 6, 1879, n.p.

Beulah Christian (Providence, Rhode Island) see Beulah Items.

Beulah Items (Providence, Rhode Island), o.s. 1-5, September, 1888 -
April, 1892; Beulah Christian, n.s. 1-11, May, 1892 - December,
1911. MoKcNA.

"A Holiness Meeting Destroyed." Beulah Items (Providence, Rhode
Island), o.s. IV, September, 1891, 1.

"Sabbath Desecration." Beulah Items (Providence, Rhode Island),
January, 1891, 4.

"We Forbade Him." Beulah Christian (Providence, Rhode Island), V, November, 1896, 2.

The Bible School Advocate (Eskridge, Kansas), Vol. 1-3, January, 1903 - September, 1905. KTKH.

The Bible School Advocate (Eskridge, Kansas), 1-III, January, 1903 to September, 1905.

California Christian Advocate (San Francisco), Vol. 1-20, October, 1851 - December, 1871. CBPac.

Benson, Henry C. "Tabernacle Meeting In Sacramento." California Christian Advocate (San Francisco), XX, May 10, 1871, 4.

Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), Vol. 26-71. KBBM.

Curry, D. "Evolution-Darwinism-The Bible." Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVII, June 13, 1883, 185.

Fry, James. "Bishop Bowman On Religious Specialities." Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVII, May 16, 1883, 156.

Hardman, W. B. "Six Thousand At A Love Feast." Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVI, September 27, 1882, 315.

"Rev. John S. Inskip of the Standard And Home Journal." Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVI, September 20, 1882, 300.

"Two Letters: To The Bishops Of The Methodist Episcopal Church And Reply Of The Bishops." Central Christian Advocate, (St. Louis, Missouri), XXVI, January 18, 1882, 18.

Cherryvale (Kansas) Republican Vols. 29, June 18, 1886+, Vols. 25, November 7, 1903. KTKH.

"Social Times." Cheryvale (Kansas) Republican, July 10, 1896, 3.

Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), Vol. 9-77, 1835-1902. NjMD.

Bangs, Nathan. "A Great Mistake." Christian Advocate And Journal

(New York), IX, February 29, 1835, 102.

_____. "The Recent Revival." Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), XXXIII, January 21, 1858, 9.

_____. "The Recent Revival." Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), XXXIII, July 29, 1858, 117.

Buckley, James M. "The Rev. W. B. Osborn [Obituary]." Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), LXXVII, September 18, 1902, 1489.

"Future of Southern Methodism." Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), XLI, February 22, 1866, 60.

"Ocean Grove." Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), LII, June 14, 1877, 373.

Wheat, Thomas J. "Dr. Steele Minifies The Evil." Christian Advocate And Journal (New York), LXIII, January 12, 1888, 20.

Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio), Vol. 1-21, 1873-1894. OCWRH.

"Comeoutism." Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio), XX, February, 1892, 12.

"Fanaticism Of The Day." Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio), XX, April, 1892, 29.

Rhoades, S. B. "Harvester Gleanings." Christian Harvester (Cleveland, Ohio), XX, April, 1892, 30.

The Christian Life (Morton Park and Jacksonville, Illinois), see The Quarterly Christian Life.

Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), and Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), see The Methodist Home Journal.

The Christian Witness And Advocate Of Bible Holiness (Boston and Chicago), see Advocate Of Christian Holiness.

Church Voice And Banner Of Holiness (Jacksonville, Illinois), see Banner Of Holiness.

The Conference Daily (Salina, Kansas), March 12-18, 1878. KTKH.

"Conference Proceedings." The Conference Daily (Salina, Kansas), I, March 16, 1878, 1.

Divine Life And International Expositor Of Scriptural Holiness (New York), Vol. 1-27, 1878-1896. NjMD.

Lowrey, Asbury. "The Conclusion Of The Whole Matter." Divine Life And International Expositor Of Scriptural Holiness (New York), III, November, 1879, 81.

_____. "Is The Baptism Of The Holy Ghost A Third Blessing?" Divine Life And International Expositor Of Scriptural Holiness (New York), III, September, 1879, 46, 47.

Evangelical Visitor (Abilene, Kansas), Vol. 1-12, 1888-1900. KTKH.

"Dickinson County Kansas." Evangelical Visitor (Abilene, Kansas), X, May, 1897, 153.

Frahm, Maggie. "Experience." Evangelical Visitor (Abilene, Kansas), X, June 15, 1897, 182, 183.

The Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas) see Pentecost Trumpet.

Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), Vol. 1-3, November, 1883 - August, 1885. KTKH.

Carnahan, J. "Camp-Meeting At McNamers Grove." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), I, November, 1883, 3.

"The Comeouter, The Sect Devil." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), I, October, 1884, 3.

Ellis, William T. "Holiness Assembly." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), II, June, 1885, 1.

Fleming, C. A. and Hewitt, S. "Camp Meeting Notices." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), I, July, 1884, 3.

"Pauline Holiness College, College Mound, Missouri." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), II, January, 1885, 4.

"Rum, Rum." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, December, 1883, 4.

"Salvation At Pauline Holiness College." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, October, 1884, 2.

"The Sect Incubator." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, January, 1884, 3.

"Subduing Africa With Jewsharps." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 11, July, 1885, 3.

Swing, James W. "News From The Front." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 11, November, 1884, 3.

_____. "San Bernardino, Cal., May 28, 1884." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, June, 1884, 3.

Wallace, Harden. "Strictures." Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, August, 1884, 3.

"What Is It?" Fire And Hammer (North Topeka, Kansas), 1, July, 1884, 3.

Good Tidings (North Topeka and Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 1-230, December 2, 1880 - February 3, 1886. KTKH.

Allen, J. H. "A Western Faith Cure." Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 30, July 21, 1881, 3.

"Dedication." Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 18, April 7, 1881, 4.

"Fanatic." Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 230, February 3, 1886, 3.

"Holiness Meeting." Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 22, May 5, 1881, 4.

McLaughlin, D. W. "The One Holy Apostolic Church Contrasted With The 'Mystic Babylon Of Revelation.'" Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 14, March 10, 1881, 1, 2.

Morgan, E. "Something Better Than Sermons." Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 70, June 1, 1882, 4.

Sexton, C. A. "Address Of The Central Western Holiness Union Convention Held In Jacksonville, Illinois, December 15-16, 1880." Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 8, January 1, 1881, 1.

_____. "The Assembly Again." Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 120, May 24, 1883, 3.

_____. "The Holiness Convention A Success." Good Tidings (Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 5, December 30, 1880, 4.

_____. "Holiness The Great Need [Round Lake Convention]." Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 80, August 3, 1882, 2,3.

"The Wormy Manna Or The Essence Of A False Gospel." Good Tidings (North Topeka, Kansas), Whole Number 104, February 1, 1883, 1.

The Gospel Trumpet (Rome City, Cardington, Indiana; Bucyrus, Ohio; Williamston, Michigan), Vol. 4-19, 1880-1895. First known as Herald Of Gospel Freedom which merged with the Pilgrim in 1880 to form The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana). InAT.

"The Big Convention." The Gospel Trumpet (Williamston, Michigan), VII, August 1, 1885, 2.

Fisher, Joseph C. "Victory." The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), V, January 1, 1882, 2.

Kiergan, A. M. "Objections To Sectism." The Gospel Trumpet (Williamston, Michigan), VI, September 15, 1884, 1.

"The Only Unsectarian Organization." The Gospel Trumpet (Bucyrus, Ohio), VI, October 15, 1883, 1.

Smith, S. B. "Correspondence." The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), IV, November 15, 1881, 3.

Warner, D. S. "Apostolic Power." The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), IV, July 1, 1881, 3.

_____. "Smoke From A Strange Fire." The Gospel Trumpet (Indianapolis, Indiana), VI, November 15, 1884, 3.

Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), see The Guide To Christian Perfection.

The Guide To Christian Perfection (Boston and New York), Vol. 1-75, 1839-1901. As The Guide To Christian Perfection (Boston), 1839-1842; The Guide To Holiness (Boston and New York), 1843-1864; Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), 1864-1866; Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), 1867-1901. IEG, NJMD.

"Bishop Taylor's Work." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. XC, October, 1887, 315.

Boyle, S. Richards. "On The Pacific." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXI, March, 1883, 96, 17.

"Camp Meetings, Ocean Grove." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LX, September, 1871, 94.

"Departure Of Missionaries." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXI, November, 1879, 149, 150.

"Ernest Christian Band, Religion In The Army." Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), o.s. XLVIII, July, 1865, 30.

"The General Assembly Chicago." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXVI, July, 1885, 26-28.

"The General Assembly Chicago." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXVI, September, 1885, 95.

"General Holiness Assembly Chicago, May 20th." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXV, May, 1885, 154.

Godbey, William B. "Baptism Of Fire." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. LXXXIX, April, 1899, 109.

"The Great National Camp Meeting [Manheim]." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LIV, September, 1868, 81-91.

"How A Revival May Be Realized In Church Communities And In The Army." Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), o.s. XLVI, December, 1864, 137, 138.

Hughes, George. "Baptism Of Fire." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXI, February, 1879, 20.

_____. "Days Of Power In The Forest Temple." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXIV, October, 1873, 117.

_____. "God Among His People." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXVII, October, 1882, 122.

_____. "The Harvest Field, Ocean Grove." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXVI, October, 1885, 124.

_____. "The Home Field, Ocean Grove." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXIX, October, 1884, 121.

_____. "Memorium, Death Of Walter C. Palmer." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXII, August, 1883, 65-100.

- _____. "National Camp Meeting." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LV, April, 1869, 117, 119.
- _____. "Our Camp-Meeting Tour, Ocean Grove." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXX, October, 1887, 315.
- _____. "Serivces At Ocean Grove, 1879." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXI, October, 1879, 116-119.
- _____. "Third National Camp Meeting At Round Lake, N.Y., July 6th to July 16th." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LV, June, 1869, Supplement 1-4.
- _____. "The Vineland Encampment." Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), o.s. LII, September, 1867, 91-93.
- "Inquiries Of Correspondence." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXV, May, 1885, 155.
- Inskip, John S. "The Tabernacle." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XII, June, 1870, 189.
- "International Camp Meeting [Niagara Falls]." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXIV, July, 1884, 28.
- "International Camp Meeting [Niagara Falls]." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXIV, August, 1884, 59.
- "International Camp Meeting [Niagara Falls]." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXIV, October, 1884, 123.
- "In The Groves." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXVIII, October, 1881, 120.
- "In The Groves, Ocean Grove." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XII, March 1870, 99.
- "Jacksonville, Kansas; Southern Kansas." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XIII, September, 1870, 88, 125.
- Jaques, J. R. "Camp Meeting Of The Oswego District, Kansas Conference." Guide to Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New Yrok), n.s. XIII, September, 1870, 88, 125.
- "Missionary Training School." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXXII, July, 1888, 2.
- "Niagara Falls." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), (New York), o.s. LXXV, February, 1885, 59.
- "Niagara Falls International Camp Ground." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXVI, July, 1885, 29.

"Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association Of The Methodist Episcopal Church." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XII, March, 1870, 99.

Patten, William. "A Great Revival Near." Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), o.s. XLVIII, July, 1865, 28-30.

Peirce, G. M. "Camp Meeting At Salt Lake City." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LIX, May, 1871, 159, 160.

"Revival In Camp." Guide To And Beauty Of Holiness (New York), o.s. XLV, June, 1864, 21.

"A Sabbath By The Sea [Ocean Grove]." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), o.s. LXXIV, July, 1884, 28.

"The Salvation Army." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXIII, November, 1880, 152.

"The Salvation Army." Guide To Holiness And Revival Miscellany (New York), n.s. XXXV, September, 1881, 86.

Harpers New Monthly Magazine (New York), Vol. 24, December, 1861 - May, 1862. KPPU.

"Camp Life At The Relay." Harpers New Monthly Magazine (New York), XXIV, December, 1861 to May 1862, 628-633.

Herald Of Pentecost (Kackley, Kansas), Vol. 1, August 1, 1894 - September 1, 1894. KTKH.

"Holiness The Basis Of Union." Herald Of Pentecost (Kackley, Kansas), 1, September 1, 1894, 1.

The Holiness Advocate (Fayetteville and Goldsboro, North Carolina), Vol. 1-7, 1900-1907. GFsE.

Hills, Aaron M. "Fanaticism Among Holiness People." The Holiness Advocate (Goldsboro, North Carolina), III, April 1, 1903, 5.

The Holiness Evangelist (Oakland, California), Vol. 1-?, 1883-1890. KTKH.

Coplin, A. "The Church Of Christ." The Holiness Evangelist (Oakland,

California), V, September 1, 1888, 8.

Holiness War News (Irving and Clay Center, Kansas), Vol. 1, 1890-1891.
KTKH.

Arnold, Nettie. "Our National Curse." Holiness War News (Irving, Kansas), 1, July, 1891, 4.

"From Dark Africa." Holiness War News (Irving, Kansas), 1, January, 1891, 4.

Glendening, John and Glendening, Cora. "The True Church." Holiness War News (Clay Center, Kansas), 1, April, 1891, 2.

Talmage, T. De Witt. "Prohibition War, National Prohibition." Holiness War News (Irving, Kansas), 1, January, 1891, 4.

Washburn, Bradford. "Twelve Reasons Why We Cannot Recognize Any One A Member Of Church Of The Firstborn Until He Is Sanctified." Holiness War News (Clay Center, Kansas), 1, September, 1891, 1.

Indian Journal (Eufaula, Oklahoma Territory). OkCOKH.

"Church Notes." Indian Journal (Eufala, Oklahoma Territory), September 7, 1894, 4.

"The Holiness Meeting." Indian Journal (Eufaula, Oklahoma Territory), September 21, 1894, 4.

"The Holiness Meeting." Indian Journal (Eufala Oklahoma Territory), September 28, 1894, 4.

The Kansas Evangelist (Beloit, Kansas), Vol. 1, December, 1898 - July, 1899. KTKH.

"The Basis Of Christian Union." The Kansas Evangelist (Beloit, Kansas), 1, December, 1898, 2.

The Kansas Methodist (Topeka, Kansas), Vol. 1-11, 1879-1889. KBBM, KTKH, NJMD.

Gilbert, J. E., and Knox, John D. "Church Encampment." The Kansas Methodist (Topeka, Kansas), 11, May, 1879, 36.

Gilbert, J. E., and Knox, John D. "Church Encampment." The Kansas Methodist (Topeka, Kansas), III, July, 1880, 7.

"Kansas State Camp Meeting Of The M. E. Church." The Kansas Methodist (Topeka, Kansas), V, July 7, 1881, 5.

Law and Gospel (Hutchinson, Kansas), October-November, 1886. KTKH.

"Prohibition A Bible Doctrine." Law and Gospel (Hutchinson, Kansas), II, October, 1886, 80.

The Lawrence (Kansas) Standard, April 7, 1877-1880. KTKH.

"The Thirty-Eighth National Camp Meeting." The Lawrence (Kansas) Standard, July 2, 1879, 4, 5.

The Liberator (Boston), Vol. 1-20, 1831-1860. MBBL.

Garrison, William L. "To The Public." The Liberator (Boston), I, January 1, 1831, 1.

Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), Vol. 1, Nos. 1-26; October 6, 1899 - June 15, 1900. Moved to (Royston, Georgia), 1902-1907. DLC, KyWAT, OKTOR.

"A Desert Place Apart." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, April 20, 1900, 4.

"The Dynamite." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, November 10, 1899, 2.

Hayes, R. B. "R. B. Hayes' Letter." Live Coals (Royston, Georgia), IV, September 12, 1906, n.p.

"In The Southland." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, January 12, 1900, 4.

Irwin, Benjamin H. "The Central Idea." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, November 10, 1899, 4.

_____. "Editorial Correspondence." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), I, October 6, 1899, 1.

_____. "Editorial Correspondence." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln,

Nebraska), 1, October 27, 1899, 1.

_____. "Editorial Correspondence." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, March 23, 1900, 1.

_____. "Editorial Correspondence, School of Prophets." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, February 23, 1900, 2.

_____. "Editorial Correspondence, School of Prophets." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, November 10, 1899, 4.

_____. "Our Brother's Sorrow." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, May 18, 1900, 4.

_____. "Repentance and Confession." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, June 15, 1900, 2.

_____. "The Third Blessing." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, October 20, 1899, 5.

"Jesse Bathurst's Letter." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, November 10, 1899, 5.

King, Joseph Hillery. "Our Sojourn In Toronto." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, May 4, 1900, 1.

_____. "Sarah M. Payne." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, June 1, 1900, 4.

"Let the Sifting Continue." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, December 1, 1899, 1.

"Official List Of The Fire Baptized Holiness Church." Live Coals (Royston, Georgia), 111, January 11, 1905, 3.

"Official List Of Ordained Evangelists." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, December 1, 1899, 8.

"Oliver Fluke's Chapel." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, April 6, 1900, 4.

"Our African Missionaries." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, April 6, 1900, 5.

"Our Cuban Work." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, November 3, 1899, 4.

"Our Foreign Missionaries." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, December 15, 1899, 8.

"Our Missionaries To Africa." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, December 29, 1899, 4.

"Our Working Force." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, October 20, 1899, 4.

"The School Of The Prophets." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, November 3, 1899, 6.

"The School Of The Prophets." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, November 10, 1899, 4.

"William B. Martin, Frank E. Porter and Stewart Irwin's Letter." Live Coals of Fire (Lincoln, Nebraska), 1, February 23, 1900, 5.

The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia), Vol. 1-33, 1867-1897; Methodist Home Journal, Vol. 1-8; Christian Standard And Home Journal, Vol. 8-23; Christian Standard And National Association Holiness Journal, Vol. 23-27; The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal, Vol. 28-33. MWA, NjMD.

"At Home, Kansas Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska." The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXIX, October 4, 1894, 10.

Boehm, Henry. "Camp Meeting Eighty-Nine Years Ago." The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXXI, November 7, 1895, 5.

Inskip, John S. "Around The World Tour." Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XIV, July 3, 1880, n.p. to XV, April 23, 1881, n.p.

_____. "Editorial Correspondence [Bismarck Grove]." Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XIII, July 12, 1879, 220.

Irwin, Benjamin H. "From Holt, Oklahoma." The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXXI, November 21, 1895, 16.

_____. "Rev. B. H. Irwin." The Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXVIII, September 21, 1893, 12.

Jacobs, S. P. "The Closing At Bismarck Grove." Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XIII, July 19, 1879, 229.

Kirby, E. W. "A Scene At The National Camp." The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia), II, August 22, 1868, 265.

Kirby, E. W. and Wallace, Adam. "The Great National Camp Meeting Closing Experiences." The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia),

11, August 1, 1868, 243, 244.

_____. "Manheim! The Great National Camp Meeting." The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia), 11, July 25, 1868, 232-237.

McDonald, William. "Ridgeview Park Camp Meeting Recalled." Christian Standard And Home Journal (Philadelphia), XXIII, July 18, 1889, 9.

Matlack, Lucius C. "American Wesleyans." The Methodist Home Journal (Philadelphia), 1, October 26, 1867, 340.

Murrill, E. M. "Tidings From Evangelists." Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXXI, October 24, 1895, 14.

Walker, Edward F. "Rev. Dr. E. F. Walker [Camp Report]." Christian Standard And International Holiness Journal (Philadelphia), XXVIII, September 28, 1893, 12.

Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Grand Rapids, and Saugatuck, Michigan), Vol. 1-7, April, 1883 - March, 1890. KyWAT, MiAnMi.

Brewer, O. "Holiness Work on the Pacific Coast." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 11, March, 1885, 74.

"Brother S. B. Shaw And His Work." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, April, 1890, 40.

"The Convention At Dutton." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, September and October, 1889, 18.

Copeland, A. "Interesting Letters." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, February, 1890, 37.

"Declarations Of Principles." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, June, 1885, 9, 10.

"Guidebook Of Our Association Including A Sketch Of Organization And Work' Constitution And By-Laws, Statement Of Doctrine, Object And Mission, Reception Of Members, Rules For Organizing Auxillary Associations and Bands." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 11, interspersed between January, 1885 to March, 1885.

"History Of Organization." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, January, 1890, 23.

"Holiness Mission Conference." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, January, 1890, 29.

Mains, Lura A. "Holiness School." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 11, August, 1884, 34.

_____. "Holiness School." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, October, 1885, 48.

_____. "Report Of Holiness School." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), V, July, 1887, 22.

"Michigan Holiness School, Rules And Regulations." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, December, 1885, 58.

Newton, George. "In California." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), VI, November, 1888, 44.

"Publications Of Bishop Wm. Taylor." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, October, 1885, 48.

Shaw, Etta E. "Semiannual Convention." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), II, April, 1884, 5, 6.

_____. "A Few Important Facts." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, January, 1890, 28, 29.

Shaw, Solomon B. "General Holiness Assembly." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, June, 1885, 14.

_____. "Interdenominational Work a Special Need of the day." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), II, September, 1884, 42.

_____. "A Second Reply." Michigan Holiness Record (Dutton, Michigan), VII, February, 1890, 37.

Terrill, I. G. "Address Of George Hughes Upon Taking The Chair At The Chicago Assembly." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), III, June, 1885, 9.

"Wells Street Mission." Michigan Holiness Record (Grand Rapids, Michigan), VI, June, 1888, 6.

Mound Valley (Kansas) Herald, July 16, 1885-1913. KTKH.

"Hallelujah All the Methodist Are Going to Hell." Mound Valley (Kansas) Herald, October 1, 1897, 3.

"The Holy Show at the City Park." Mound Valley (Kansas) Herald, October 8, 1897, 5.

"State Holiness Camp Meeting." Mound Valley (Kansas) Herald, September 17, 1897, 3.

Nazarene Messenger (Los Angeles, California), 1-14, 1896-1910. As Nazarene, 1896-1900. MoKcNA.

"Open Letter To The National Holiness Association [Joseph H. Smith]." Nazarene Messenger (Los Angeles, California), VIII, July 16, 1903, 7.

Church of the Nazarene (Los Angeles, California), November, 1895.

Niles National Register (Philadelphia; Baltimore, Maryland), Vol. 1-76, September 7, 1811 - September 28, 1949. KPPU.

Davis, William. "The Southern Convention." Niles National Register (Baltimore, Maryland), o.s. LXVI, July 13, 1844, 311.

"The Methodist Episcopal General Conference." Niles National Register (Baltimore, Maryland), o.s. LXV, May 18, 1844, 192.

"The National Anti-Slavery Convention." Niles National Register (Baltimore, Maryland), o.s. LXIV, September 16, 1843, 47.

Northern Christian Advocate (Auburn, New York), Vol. 1-29, 1841-1870. NjMD.

Lore, Dallas D. "National Camp Meeting." Northern Christian Advocate (Auburn, New York), XXIX, July 1, 1869, 205.

_____. "National Camp Meeting." Northern Christian Advocate (Auburn, New York), XXIX, July 15, 1869, 220.

_____. "National Camp Meeting." Northern Christian Advocate (Auburn, New York), XXIX, July 22, 1869, 228.

Reddy, William. "The National Camp Meeting." Northern Christian Advocate (Auburn, New York), XXXIX, July 22, 1869, 229.

Northwestern Christian Advocate (Chicago), Vol. 1-28, 1852-1880. IEG.

"Passing Comment." Northwestern Christian Advocate (Chicago), XXVII, July 2, 1879, 4.

Ocean Grove A Record Of Religion And Recreation (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), Vol. 1-25, 1875-1900. Title varies: Ocean Grove A Record Of Faith And Progress; Ocean Grove Record. NjMD.

Stokes, Ellwood H. "Greetings from President Stokes [Auditorium Dedication]." Ocean Grove Record (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), XX, July 7, 1894, 1, 2.

_____. "Ocean Grove; The Christian Sea-Side Resort." Ocean Grove A Record Of Religion And Recreation (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), II, July 8, 1876, 305.

Wallace, Adam. "The Annual Love-Feast." Ocean Grove Record (Ocean Grove, New Jersey), VIII, August 26, 1882, 1.

Old Methodist (Louisville and Frankfort, Kentucky), Vol. 1-12, 1888-1900; As Old Methodst, 1888-1890; Kentucky Methodist, 1891-1895; Methodist And Way Of Life, 1895-1897; The Pentecostal Herald, 1897-1900. KyWAT, NjMD.

Adams, W. M. "Temple, Texas." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, January 12, 1898, 5.

"Commencement At Asbury." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XII, June 13, 1900, 8.

Fly, H. L. "Paragraph 302." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, June 15, 1898, 9.

Harris, J. W. "The New Law A Pastor's View." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, June 29, 1898, 4.

Hooper, W. W. "Some Meetings And Else." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XII, July 7, 1900, 6.

Morrison, H. C. "Editorial, The Church Of The Nazarenes." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XI, January 25, 1899, 8.

_____. "An Open Letter To A Southern Methodist Bishop." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XII, May 2, 1900, 6.

_____. "A Sad Duty." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XII, June 20, 1900, 8.

_____. "Victim Of Senseless Fashion." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), IX, August 11, 1897, 6.

Normandy, J. S. "Greenville, Texas." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, March 30, 1898, 6.

Price, R. N. "A Demurrer." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), XII, July 4, 1900, 5.

Stone, G. W. "What Shall Be Done? A Layman's View." The Pentecostal

Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, June 29, 1898, 4.

"Temple Texas Holiness Mission." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, March 16, 1898, 15.

"The Wm. M. Adams Case Again." The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), X, February 16, 1898, 1.

Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), Vol. 1-14, 1881-1895. CSCL.

"Band Reports." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 3.

"Bishop Taylor's." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 1.

Bronson, C. W., and Newton, George. "To The Public." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, June 1, 1884, 2.

Brooks, John P; Hughes, George; Watson, George D.; Doty, Thomas K.; Colt, W. B. M.; Shaw, Solomon B.; and Washburn, B. A. "The General Holiness Assembly. The Official Call." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, May 1, 1885, 3.

"Constitution And By-Laws" Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, March 13, 1885, 2.

"Grand Thanksgiving Day in Stockton for the Holiness Band." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 4.

Lambert, Charles E. "School Of The Prophets." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), V, September 9, 1886, 3.

"Local Bands." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), V, June 17, 1886, 3.

"A Methodist Theater!!! The Fashionable Local Event!! No Revival Of Religion." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, March 20, 1885, 2.

"The McCall Mission." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), VI, December 1, 1887, 2.

"Mission Work On Holiness Line." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, March 20, 1885, 2.

"The New Church Not Scriptural." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, May 29, 1885, 1.

"New Headquarters In San Francisco." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San

Francisco), III, December 12, 1884, 2.

"Schools Of The Prophets." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), V, September 9, 1886, 3.

"Training Homes." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), V, May 27, 1886, 2.

"William Taylor And His Continental Diocese." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), IV, April 17, 1885, 1.

"Wm. Taylor's Mission." Pacific Herald Of Holiness (San Francisco), VI, April 28, 1887, 4.

The Parsons (Kansas) Daily Sun, Vols. 1-30, July, 1884 - January, 1901. KTKH.

"Camp Meeting." The Parsons (Kansas) Daily Sun, August 19, 1894, 4.

"The Churches." The Parsons (Kansas) Daily Sun, September 2, 1894, 4.

Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), Vol. 1-20, 1885-1905. KyWAT, MoKcNA.

Brand, G. V. D. "Primitive Or Apostolic Church." Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), I, August 21, 1886, 5, 6.

Butler, G. E. "Holiness In Downey." Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), I, February 5, 1886, 8.

_____. "Holiness In Downey." Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), I, February 26, 1886, 8.

Foster, J. A. "Sanctification The Basis Of Membership In The New Testament Church." Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), I, February 26, 1886, 8.

"Holiness Church Directory." Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), IX, January 12, 1893, 4.

"Pacific Bible College." The Pentecost (Los Angeles, California), XXI, September 14, 1905, 4.

Pentecost Trumpet (Clay Center, Kansas), September 3 - August 18, 1892; The Western Record (Clay Center and Kackley, Kansas), September 10, 1892 - September 18, 1893; Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas), October 3, 1893 - May 3, 1894. KTKH.

Barton, S. B. "Twelve Mile, Kan. To The War Cry." Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas), V, March 15, 1894, 4.

Kirby, William. "Lay Aside Sectarianism." Pentecost Trumpet (Clay Center, Kansas), III, February 18, 1892, 2.

Lowe, E. A. "Twelve Mile Kansas [Band Report]." Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas), V, March 15, 1894, 4.

Nelson, M. J. "Halleluiah 42 Saved At Spring Creek Schoolhouse." Evangelistic War Cry (Salina, Kansas), V, April 19, 1894, 1.

Washburn, Bradford. "Twelve Reasons Why We Cannot Recognize any one a Member of Church of the Firstborn until he is Sanctified." Pentecost Trumpet (Clay Center, Kansas), II, October 14, 1891, 3.

Ziegler, D. P. "Western Union Evangelistic Association (Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Kansas)." The Western Record (Clay Center, Kansas), III, September 10, 1892, 1.

Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), Vol. 1-14, 1897-1911. CSdPL, MoKcNA.

Alexander, Frank T. "Emmanuel's Bible School, Beulah, Oklahoma." Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), X, February 21, 1907, 9.

Averill, R. L. "The 'Tongues' People As I Saw Them." Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), X, January 10, 1907, 2.

Huckabee, W. B. "'The Gift Of Tongues' And Other Gifts." Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), X, February 21, 1907, 8.

Menifee, C. J. "History Of Holiness On The Plains." Pentecostal Advocate (Peniel, Texas), X, January 3, 1907, 3.

The Pentecostal Herald (Louisville, Kentucky), see Old Methodist.

The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), Vol. 1-15, 1918-1933. OkOKPHA, OkTOR.

"Editorial, Doctrinal Differences." The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), XIII, May 22, 1930, 8.

King, Joseph H. "History of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church Chapter 1." The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), IV, March 24, 1921, 4, 5.

_____. "History of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church Chapter II." Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), IV, March 31, 1921, 10, 11.

_____. "History of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church, Chapter III." The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (Franklin Springs, Georgia), IV, April 17, 1921, 10.

The Purity Journal And Christian Life (Morton Park and Jacksonville, Illinois), see The Quarterly Christian Life.

The Quarterly Christian Life (Jacksonville and Morton Park, Illinois), Vol. 1-29, 1887-1916; The Christian Life, 1889-1900; Purity Journal And The Christian Life, 1901-1916. NbLNbH.

Caldwell, J. R. "Thoughts On Marital Purity, Part II. Dress, Diet, Associations, Exercise, School." The Quarterly Christian Life (Jacksonville, Illinois), III, September 21, 1889, 142.

"An Open Confession." The Quarterly Christian Life (Jacksonville, Illinois), II, Autumn, 1888, 15.

The Revivalist (Albion, Michigan and Cincinnati, Ohio), 1888 - January, 1893, at Albion, Michigan, 1893-1900; As God's Revivalist 1901+. OCGb, KyWAT.

"The Apostolic Holiness Union." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 2, 1900, 12.

"Bible School Opening." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, October 11, 1900, 15.

"Change Of Address." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 9, 1900, 3.

"Church Entertainments." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), VI, July, 1892, 3.

"Dedication Service." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, October 11, 1900, 15, 16.

"God's Bible-School." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, July 26, 1900, 14, 15.

God's Bible-School." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 30, 1900, 15.

"God's Bible School And Missionary Training Home." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 30, 1900, 4.

Hills, A. M. "Texas Holiness University." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, September 6, 1900, 12.

"Jennie Casseday Holiness Mission." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), X, September, 1896, 6.

Rees, Seth C. "Apostolic Holiness Union." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 2, 1900, 12.

_____. "Independent Holiness Churches." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, October 14, 1900, 2.

"The Revivalist Chapel." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, January 25, 1900, 11.

"The Revivalist Chapel." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, February 1, 1900, 15.

"Social Purity." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XI, January 26, 1899, 5.

"The Temple At St. Louis." The Revivalist (Cincinnati, Ohio), XII, August 30, 1900, 12.

The Royal Priest (College Mound and Kirksville, Missouri), Vol. 1-8, April, 1887 - June, 1899. Became The Theocrat (Kirksville, Missouri), Vol. 1-3, December, 1900 - September, 1903. MoCMoH.

Balmain, W. A. "The Church." The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), V, May, 1895, 1.

Brenneman, D. C. "Scraps Of History." The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), I, May 16, 1888, 1.

Brewer, A. L. "The Free Line." The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), II, October 16, 1889, 2.

_____, "Thoughts." The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), I, May 16, 1888, 2.

Kennedy, Allen L. "Modern Babylon." The Royal Priest (Kirksville, Missouri), I, November 28, 1888, 3.

Sent of God (Glenwood and Tabor, Iowa), Vol. 1-8, 1892-1900. MoKcNA.

Haney, Milton L. "Fanaticism." Sent Of God (Tabor, Iowa), VII, June 15, 1899, 2.

Weaver, George. "Fanaticism." Sent Of God (Glenwood, Iowa), I, September 1, 1892, 1.

Southern Christian Advocate (Charleston, South Carolina), Vol. 1-10, 1837-1847. NjMD.

Capers, William. "Letter From Dr. Capers." Southern Christian Advocate (Charleston, South Carolina), VII, May 24, 1844, 198.

The Tucumseh (Nebraska) Chieftian, 1873+. NBLNBH.

"Death Of Mrs. Anna Irwin." The Tucumseh (Nebraska) Chieftian, November 15, 1919, 3.

Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), Vol. 1-9, 1897-1906. MoKcNA.

Gardner, John A. "Center City, Fifth Sunday Holiness Meeting July 27-28." Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, July 12, 1906, 9.

"Greenville Holiness Camp Meeting [History of] ." Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, July 5, 1906, 1.

Hogan, C. T. "The Early Holiness Movement In Texas." Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, July 12, 1906, 5.

Williams L. B. "Texas Holiness University." Texas Holiness Advocate (Greenville, Texas), IX, June 28, 1906, 1.

Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), Vol. 1, 1899-1900. MoKcNA.

Catching, Mary. "Holiness University, Greenville, Texas." Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), I, December, 1899, 5.

Hills, A. M. "Texas Holiness University." Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), I, February, 1900, 5.

"Texas State Holiness Association: Statement Of Doctrine; Form Of Government." Texas Holiness Banner (Sunset, Texas), I, May, 1900, 5.

The Theocrat (Kirkville, Missouri), see The Royal Priest.

The True Wesleyan (Lowell and Boston, Massachusetts; New York, Syracuse, New York; and Marion, Indiana), Vol. 1-57, 1842-1900. New England Christian Advocate, Vol. VI -?, January, 1841-?; The True Wesleyan, 1842-1850; American Wesleyan, 1850-1885; The Wesleyan Methodist, 1883-1900. InMWA, NjMD.

Hall, John B. "Terms." The True Wesleyan (Boston), 1, May 20, 1843, 77.

Horton, Jotham; Scott, Orange; and Sunderland, LaRoy. "Withdrawal From The M. E. Church." The True Wesleyan (Lowell, Massachusetts), 1, January 7, 1843, 1.

Horton, Jotham and Sunderland, LaRoy. "Christian Holiness." The True Wesleyan (Boston), 1, April 15, 1843, 59.

Irwin, Benjamin H. "Iowa, Coon Rapids." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, July 15, 1896, 5.

_____. "Iowa, Evangelistic." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, June 3, 1896, 4.

_____. "Iowa, Guthrie Centre." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, July 29, 1896, 5.

Packard, J. F. "The Baptism of Fire." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, July 15, 1896, 3-5.

Sage, C. P. "Coon Rapids." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, January 1, 1896, 5.

_____. "Coon Rapids." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, March 25, 1896, 4.

_____. "Guthrie Centre." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, April 1, 1896, 4.

_____. "Iowa, Coon Rapids, Church Notes." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, January 23, 1896, 4.

_____. "Iowa." The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), LIII, July 22, 1896, 5.

Sawyer, P. R. "Wesley's Course Would Be Offensive To Our Opponents If Adopted By The Radicals." The True Wesleyan (Boston), 1, March 20, 1843, 77.

The Two Fires (Scammon, Cherryvale, Eskridge, Kansas; and Taft, California), Vol. 1-30, 1908-1938. KTKH, KPPU.

McKinnon, A. "The Bible School." The Two Fires (Scammon, Kansas), VIII, December 1, 1916, 4.

"Orphan's Home." The Two Fires (Cherryvale, Kansas), XII, February 15, 1920, 5.

"Orphan's Home Business Meeting." The Two Fires (Cherryvale, Kansas), XII, February 15, 1920, 6.

"The Revival." The Two Fires (Eskridge, Kansas), III, April 1, 1912, 4, 5.

The Vanguard (St. Louis, Missouri). Vol. 1-34, 1881-1914. MoKcMoH, NNUT, KTKH.

Smith, A. "Vote Prihibition." The Vanguard (St. Louis, Missouri), VIII, January 30, 1889, 3.

"Vanguard Mission." The Vanguard (St. Louis, Missouri), VIII, January 30, 1889, 1.

The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), Vol. 1-10, 1890-1900. ScCScU, lalalaH.

"Brother Irwin's Letter." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, September 28, 1898, 1.

"Brother Irwin's Letter." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 12, 1898, 2.

"Door Of Hope Mission, Fort Worth, Texas." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, November 25, 1896, 2.

Dull, John E. "Iowa, Coalfield." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 26, 1898, 5.

Duren, J. E. "City Missionary's Report." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, December 4, 1895, 5.

_____. "Monthly Report Of Oliver Gospel Mission For May." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, June 10, 1896, 5.

- _____. "Oliver Gospel Mission Monthly Report." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, February 12, 1896, 5.
- _____. "Oliver Gospel Mission Monthly Report." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, December 7, 1898, 4.
- Fluke, Oliver. "Iowa." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VIII, October 13, 1897, 5.
- _____. "Iowa." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, November 18, 1896, 5.
- _____. "Iowa, Olmitz." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 30, 1896, 5.
- "Gospel Temperance Union Supplement " to The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, March 25, 1896, 1-16.
- Hayes, R. B. "Carlton." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, November 30, 1898, 5.
- _____. "Georgia, Carlton." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 12, 1898, 5.
- _____. "Gospel Wagon Wanted." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 19, 1898, 5.
- _____. "Powersville." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, November 16, 1898, 5.
- Hudson, Edward C. "A New Testimony." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, November 16, 1898, 5.
- Irwin, Benjamin H. "The Abiding Fire." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 16, 1896, 1.
- _____. "The Baptism Of Fire An Experience." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, November 13, 1895, 2.
- _____. "Brother Irwin's Letter [Healey, Kansas]." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, October 14, 1896, 1.
- _____. "Brother Irwin's Letter [Mound Valley Camp Meeting]." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VIII, October 20, 1897, 2.
- _____. "Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 2, 1896, 5.

- _____. "Chetopa, Kansas." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, September 2, 1896, 1.
- _____. "Iowa." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VIII, October 13, 1897, 5.
- _____. "Kansas, Junction City." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, November 11, 1896, 5.
- _____. "Minco, Indian Territory." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, June 17, 1896, 2.
- _____. "Purcell, Indian Territory." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, July 8, 1896, 1, 2.
- _____. "Purcell, Oklahoma." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, July 1, 1896, 2.
- _____. "Pyrophobia." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, October 28, 1896, 2.
- _____. "South Carolina, Piedmont." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 30, 1896, 5.
- _____. "Tracts! Tracts!!" The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VIII, October 13, 1897, 5, 6.
- _____. "Victory At Winnipeg." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 23, 1896, 1.
- _____. "Winnipeg, Manitoba." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, December 16, 1896, 4.
- "A Kindly Word From Sister Oliver." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, June 24, 1896, 2.
- "Monthly Report." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, November 6, 1895, 5.
- Murrill, E. M. "Meeting At Abilene, Texas." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, July 24, 1895, 1.
- _____. "Holiness Mission At Fort Worth, Texas." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, November 23, 1898, 1.
- _____. "What Of The Fire?" The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, October 26, 1898, 2.
- Pike, John M. "Camp Meetings." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, July 29, 1896, 4.

Pullian, N. G. "A Good Meeting." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), IX, November 16, 1898, 1.

"The Salvation Army." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, January 29, 1896, 4.

Stevenson, W. E. "A Murdeous Assault On B. H. Irwin." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, August 12, 1896, 1.

"Unauthorized Evangelists." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VI, January 1, 1896, 4.

Young, Benjamin. "Kansas, Mound Valley." The Way Of Faith And Neglected Themes (Columbia, South Carolina), VII, November 18, 1896, 5.

The Wesleyan Methodist (Syracuse, New York), see The True Wesleyan.

Western Christian Advocate (Cincinnati, Ohio), Vol. 1-41, 1834-1875. IEG, NjMD.

"Old Fashioned Camp Meetings Versus New Fashioned." Western Christian Advocate (Cincinnati, Ohio), XL, September 17, 1873, 6.

The Western Christian Monitor (Chillicothe, Ohio), Vol. 1, 1816. IEG, NjMD.

"A Short Account of the Life and Death of Doctor Thomas Coke." The Western Christian Monitor (Chillicothe, Ohio), 1, 1816, 21.

The Western Record (Clay Center and Kackley, Kansas), see Pentecost Trumpet.

The Wichita (Kansas) Daily Beacon Vol. 1-96, September 1, 1884+. KTKH.

"The Camp Meeting." The Wichita (Kansas) Daily Beacon, June 15, 1893, 4.

"Holiness Camp Meeting." The Wichita (Kansas) Daily Beacon, June 6, 1893, 4.

"Holy of Holies." The Wichita (Kansas) Daily Beacon, June 9, 1893, 4.

Zion's Herald (Boston), Vol. 1-32, 1823-1855; Merged with Wesleyan Journal in 1841 then known as Zion's Herald And Wesleyan Journal. MBU-T, NjMD.

Merrill, Abram D.; Perkins, Jared; Storrs, George; Sunderland, LaRoy; and Willson, S. "An Appeal to the Members of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences of the M. E. Church." Zion's Herald (Boston), VI, February 4, 1835, 14.

Wise, Daniel. "The New Editor's Greetings." Zion's Herald And Wesleyan Journal (Boston), XIII, July 7, 1852, 2.

Zion's Watchman (New York), Vol. 1-5, 1836-1841. CtW, MWA, NHoC, InMWA.

"Poetry To Bishop Soule." Zion's Watchman (New York), IV, September 21, 1839, 152.

Sunderland, La Roy. "Editor's Trial." Zion's Watchman (New York), V, March 28, 1840, 51.

_____. "Editor's Trial." Zion's Watchman (New York), V, April 11, 1840, 105.

_____. "Our Object." Zion's Watchman (New York), I, January 1, 1836, 1.

_____. "Prospectus." Zion's Watchman (New York), IV, November 30, 1839, 190.

REFERENCE BOOKS

The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament, The Nestle Greek Text with a Literal English Translation by Reverend Dr. Alfred Marshall and a forward by Canon J. B. Phillips, also a marginal text of the Authorized Version of King James (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958).

SECONDARY MATERIAL

BOOKS CONSULTED

Atkinson, John. Centennial History Of American Methodism, Inclusive Of Its Ecclesiastical Organization In 1784 And Its Subsequent

Development Under The Superintendency Of Francis Asbury (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1884). NjMD.

Bangs, Nathan. A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 4 vols. I (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, For the Methodist Episcopal Church, At The Conference Office, 1838-1841). Own.

Bartlett, James Vernon and Carlyle, A. J. Christianity in History, A Study of Religious Development (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1917). KPPU.

Betts, Albert Deems. History Of South Carolina Methodism (Columbia, South Carolina: n.p., 1952).

Billington, Ray Allen., ed. The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History? (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). Own.

Bucke, Emory Steven. The History of American Methodism. 3 vols., II (New York: Abington Press, 1964). KPPU.

Campbell, Joseph E. The Pentecostal Holiness Church 1898-1948 Its Background And History, Presenting complete background material which adequately explains the existence of this organization, also the existence of other kindred Pentecostal and Holiness groups, as an essential and integral part of the total church set-up (Franklin Springs, Georgia: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1951). Own.

Carroll, Henry King. The Religious Forces Of The United States, Enumerated, Classified, And Described Returns For 1900 And 1910 Compared With The Census Of 1890, Condition And Characteristics Of Christianity In The United States (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912). KPPU.

Case, Nelson. History Of Labette County Kansas, From The First Settlement To The Close Of 1892 (Topeka, Kansas: Crane & Company, 1893). KTKH.

Clark, Robert Donald. The Life of Matthew Simpson (New York: Macmillan, 1956). NjMD.

Crooks, George R., and Hurst, John F., eds. Library Of Biblical And Theological Literature. 9 vols. History Of The Christian Church. II, by John Hurst (New York: Jennings & Pye, 1900). KPPU.

Davies, Edward. Douglas Camp Meeting. With an Introduction by E. M. Levy (Boston: McDonald, Gill, & Co., 1890). Own.

Ferguson, John. Clement of Alexandria. Sylvia E. Bowman, General Editor (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974). KPPU.

- Forbush, William Byron., ed. Fox's Book Of Martyrs A History Of The Lives, Sufferings, And Triumphant Deaths Of The Early Christian And The Protestant Martyrs (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1926-1971). KPPU.
- Garrison, Wendel Phillips and Garrison, Francis Jackson. William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879, The Story Of His Life Told By His Children. 4 vols., II, 1835-1840 (New York: The Century Company, 1885-1889). MBBL.
- Goss, C. C. Statistical History Of The First Century Of American Methodism With A Summary Of The Origin And Present Operations Of Other Denominations (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1866). NjMD.
- Jones, Charles Edwin. A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement ATLA Bibliography Series, No. 1. Edited by Kenneth E. Rowe (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., and The American Theological Library Association, 1974). Own.
- Hughes, George. The Beloved Physican, Walter C. Palmer, M.D., and His Sun-Lit Journey to the Celestial City. With an Introduction by F. G. Hibbard (New York: Palmer & Hughes, 1884). KyWAT.
- _____. Fragrant Memories Of The Tuesday Meeting And The Guide To Holiness And Their Fifty Years Work For Jesus. With an Introduction to Part I by Bishop W. F. Mallalieu and to Part II by Bishop William Taylor (New York: Palmer & Hughes, 1885). KyWAT, NjMD.
- Keating, J. M. History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County. 3 vols., I (Syracuse, New York: D. Mason & Company, 1888).
- McLeister, Ira F., and Nicholson, Roy Stephen. Conscience and Commitment The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. Fourth Revised Edition. Edited by Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter (Marion, Indiana: The Wesley Press, 1976). Own.
- Mathews, Donald G. Slavery And Methodism A Chapter in American Morality 1780-1845 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965). KPPU.
- Neve, J. L. Churches And Sects Of Christendom (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1940). KPPU.
- Niebuhr, Helmut Richard. The Social Sources Of Denominationalism (New York: Henry Holt and Company, n.d.).
- Norwood, John Nelson. The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844: A Study of Slavery and Ecclesiastical Politics (Alfred, New York: Alfred Press, 1923). KPPU.
- Peters, John Leland. Christian Perfection And American Methodism

(New York: Abingdon Press, n.d.). NjMD.

Qualben, Lars P. A History Of The Christian Church (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1933-1968). KPPU.

Salmond, Stewart, D. F., and Briggs, Charles A., eds. The International Theological Library. The Ancient Catholic Church From The Accession Of Trajan To The Fourth General Council A.D. 98-451. By Robert Rainy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902). KPPU.

Schaff, Philip. History Of The Christian Church. 7 vols., Ante-Nicene Christianity, A.D. 100-325., II, Eleventh Edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909). KPPU.

Simpson, Matthew., ed. Cyclopaedia Of Methodism. Embracing Sketches Of Its Rise, Progress And Present Condition (Philadelphia: Lewis H. Everts, Revised Edition, 1880). Own.

Smith, H. Shaelton. In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910 (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1972). Own.

Smith, Timothy L. Called Unto Holiness, The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years (Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962). Own.

_____. Revivalism And Social Reform American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (New York: Harper & Row, 1957). Own.

Stevens, Abel. The History Of The Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, Called Methodist, Considered In Its Different Denominational Forms, And Its Relations To British And American Protestantism. 3 vols., I (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1858). Own.

Stevhenson, Carl. Mediaeval History, Europe From The Second To The Sixteenth Century. Edited and Revised by Bryce Lyon (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

Sweet, William Warren. Methodism In American History (New York: Abingdon Press, Revised Edition 1953-1961). Own.

_____. Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840. 4 vols., The Methodists. IV (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1964). Own.

Synan, Vinson. The Holiness Pentecostal Movement In The United States (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1917).

_____. The Old-Time Power (Franklin Springs, Georgia: Advocate Press, 1973). Own.

Thomas, Paul Westphal and Thomas, Paul William. The Days Of Our Pilgrimage. Edited by Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, Jr. (Marion, Indiana: The Wesley Press, 1976). Own.

Vedder, Henry C. Church History Handbooks. 17 vols., Book III, Modern Church History from the Reformation to the Close of the Nineteenth Century (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1909). KBBM.

Weisberger, Bernard. They Gathered at the River (New York: Little Brown, 1958).

JOURNALS

Myers, Edward H. "The Disruption Of Methodism." D. D. Whedon, Editor. The Methodist Quarterly Review LVIII (New York: Nelson and Phillips; Cincinnati, Ohio: Hitchcock & Walden, 1876).

Sweet, William Warren. "The Protestant Churches" in "Organized Religion In The United States." Thorsten Sellin, ed. The Annals of the American Academy of Social Science. MMLVI (Philadelphia: March, 1948).

REFERENCE BOOKS

Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary. Based on Webster's Third New International Dictionary. s.v. "mortal," "venial."

Who's Who in America (1897-1942) (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who Inc., 1942).

THESIS AND RESEARCH PAPERS

Caldwell, Wayne E. "The History Of The Kansas Conferences Of The Wesleyan Methodist Church Of America 1871-1968." Ph.D. dissertation (Denver, Colorado: The Iliff School Of Theology, 1969).

Cohen, Clarence Eugene. "History Of The Church Of God (Holiness)." Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1949).

Dayton, Donald W., and Dayton, Lucille S. "An Historical Survey Of Attitudes Toward War And Peace Within The American Holiness Movement." Prepared for the Seminar on Christian Holiness and the Issues of War and Peace, June 7-9, 1973, Winona Lake, Indiana.

Dieter, Melvin E. "Revivalism and Holiness." Ph.D. dissertation (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1972).

- Fankhauser, Craig. "History of the Independence Bible College." Research paper prepared for History: Theory and Practice, May 14, 1974 (Pittsburg, Kansas: Pittsburg State University, 1974).
- Gaddis, Merrill E. "Christian Perfectionism In America." Ph.D. dissertation (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929).
- Jervey, Edward D. "LaRoy Sunderland, Zion's Watchman, And Methodist Disunion 1830-1844." Prepared at Radford College, Virginia, for the Jurisdictional Conference of Archives and History of the United Methodist Church at Waltham, Massachusetts, April 29, 1975.
- Jones, Charles Edwin. "Perfectionist Persuasion: A Social Profile Of The National Holiness Movement Within American Methodism 1867-1936." Ph.D. dissertation (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1968).
- Masserano, Frank C. "A Study Of Worship Forms In The Assemblies Of God Denomination." Ph.D dissertation (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1966).
- Phoebus, Samuel J. "The Fire Baptized Holiness Church Its History And Practices." Bachelor of Theology Degree (New York: The Biblical Seminary in New York, 1949).
- Sears, Lawrence Wayne. "A History Of The Origin And Growth Of The Church Of The Nazarene In Kansas." Masters Thesis (Pittsburg, Kansas: Pittsburg State University, 1949).
- Thompson, Claude Holmes. "The Witness Of American Methodism To The Historical Doctrine Of Christian Perfection." 4 vols. Ph.D. dissertation (Madison, New Jersey: Drew University, 1949).